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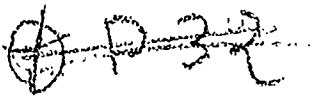
ADVERTISEMENT.

THE compiler regrets that his departure from Calcutta obliges him to bring out this work in so incomplete a form,—the part now printed comprising only portions of the first and fourth volumes. On his return to the Presidency, he hopes to bring out the remainder, as fast as his little leisure will permit.

Umbala, Dec. 1848.



ERRATA.

Page	Line	
31	5	—for Kaj, read Gaj.
74	25—31	In all these places, for *Yahrbücher* read *Jahrbücher*.
80	23	
82	20	
89	27	
92	32	
140	6	—insert "or" between Deilimites and Búyides.
313	22	—for Kal, read Gul.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

TO THE

HISTORIANS

OF

MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

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ac

By H. M. ELLIOT, Esq.

Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Vol. I.

GENERAL HISTORIES.

And now stand forth, ye giant forms,—shades of the earliest chieftains,—ye long rows of famous men,—ye dynasties,—ye venerable councillors of kings and warriors on the car of victory,—stand forth, and let us survey you; and say—were ye the greatest of mankind? How few of you can claim that title! Or best of men? Still fewer of you have that praise. The originators or inspiring movers of great things done? Rather, the wheels whereon the Invisible Ruler has driven the wonderous machinery of His universal government across the ocean of time.

J. Müller, *Lectures on Universal History*, III. 422.

EE.j.12
Dx d.32

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1849.

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103455

From J. THORNTON, *Esq.*
Secretary to Government N. W. P.

To H. M. ELLIOT, *Esq.*
Secretary and Officiating Member,
Sudder Board of Revenue.

SIR,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th ultimo, transmitting an "Index to the Native Historians of India," and to express the great satisfaction with which the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor has received the above compilation.

2.—His Honor desires that the work may be immediately printed under your superintendence. The Government will print 200 copies for their own use; but you can have as many more copies printed, on your own account, as may be required for circulation in India and England.

I have the honor, &c. &c.

(Signed) J. THORNTON,
Secy. to Govt. N. W. P.

Lieut.-Governor's Camp,
Feb. 11, 1847.

PREFACE.

A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi, on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to His Honor the Lieutenant Governor N. W. P., it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the Manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances ren-

der it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammedan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several Volumes; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each History as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the fourth Volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first Volumes; of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted;

but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different Manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth Volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connexion, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted.

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself—of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to add to this Index an account of the historians of the independent Muhammedan monarchies, such as of Gujrát, Bengál, Cashmír and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the

interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to the reign of Sháh A'lam, when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more stirring and eventful period of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exemplified in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, the Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, the Monumenta Boica, the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules, and a hundred other collections of the same

kind—but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere;—since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of Manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties

beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz.: the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra an useful set of chronological tables of the Moghul dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied, that some had been once in his possession and had been given away; some he had borrowed; and some were lost or mislaid; but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed, denied all knowledge of the works, or even of their titles. Indeed, most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the

historical collection of His Highness the Nizam; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities, —the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed.

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance;—the misquoting of titles, dates, and names;—the ascription to wrong authors;—the absence of beginnings and endings;—the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript;—the mistakes of copyists; —the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions;—all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well known difficulty of deciphering Oriental Manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is devoted only to Saints and Poets. Where

fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of History, we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe.* Even in Europe† this deficiency has been complained of; how much more, therefore, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant; where the active elements of life are few; and where

* Neque enim sufficere, ut Codicum inscriptiones legantur, qui sæpe aut falsos aut truncatos titulos præferant, sæpe etiam plane desiderentur; sed præfationes immo totos libros percurrendos esse, ut de singulorum argumento, formâ, ratione pronunties: de auctorum rebus in Historiæ literariæ libris inquirendum, aut si horum destituamur auxilio, ex ipsis operibus de scriptorum ætate conjecturam esse faciendam. Hunc igitur non aliquot mensium, nec unius anni laborem, sed talem, in quo rite perficiendo facile majorem ætatis partem consumas, eo usque seponendum esse decrevi, donec doctior omnibusque auxiliis paratior ad eum profligandum possem accedere.

H. A. HAMAKER, *Specimen Catalogi*, p. iv.

† I know not by what means it comes to pass, that historians, who give immortality to others, are so ill requited by posterity, that their actions and their fortunes are usually forgotten; neither themselves encouraged while they live, nor their memory preserved entire to future ages. It is the ingratitude of mankind to their wisest benefactors, that they who teach us wisdom by the surest ways, should generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the public, and had no interest in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like tapers, and to waste themselves for the benefit of others.—*Dryden.*

individual character, trammelled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the Histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them Histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals. "Erat enim historia nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio. * * * * Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monimenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. * * * Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt." (*De Orat.* II. 12). They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence; without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic Monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes

when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghul Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that "History is Philosophy teaching by examples," then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store; though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator;—but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammedan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them Society is never contemplated either in its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual

intercourses. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only Grandees and Ministers, "Thrones and Imperial Powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History,—for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the τελειότατον τέλος of historical enquiry." (*Lectures on Mod. Hist.* p. 123.) In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, or the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammedan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances

and relations nearly similar. We behold Kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state-revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge in wealth, peace, and prosperity? Had the authors, whom we are compelled to consult, pourtrayed their Cæsars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial syco-

phancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depth of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have—even among the short Extracts in this single Volume—of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammedans,[1] of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures,[2] of idols mutilated,[3] of temples razed,[4] of forcible conversions and marriages,[5] of proscriptions and confiscations,[6] of murders and massacres,[7] and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them,[8] show us that this picture is not overcharged;—and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no

1 See pp. 254, 291, 336.
2 See pp. 197, 235, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 257, 292.
3 See pp. 236, 286, 333, 344.
4 See pp. 228, 229, 292.
5 See pp. 196, 287, 335.
6 See pp. 289, 330, 332, 333.
7 See pp. 127, 158, 160, 286, 289, 333, 334, 335.
8 See pp. 112, 284, 285, 288, 290, 381, 390.

vices. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to learn what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings of his subject race; —but unfortunately he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammedan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except perhaps a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammedan "one of the true faith," and of the holy Saints of the Calendar he writes with all the fervor of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell," and when a Muhammedan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He

is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks "of the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," "of the blessed Muharram," and "of the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammedans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age "at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave," though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob *metum* falsæ,"* there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

* Tacitus, *Annal.* I. 1.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammedan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendor of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Baboos, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism and the degradation of their present position. If they

would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to learn, that, in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. From them too these idle vaporers would learn, that the sacred spark of patriotism is exotic here, and can never fall on a mine that will explode; for history will show them, that certain peculiarities of physical as well as moral organization, neither to be strengthened by diet nor improved by education, have hitherto prevented their even attempting a national independence,—which will continue to exist to them but as a name, and as an offscouring of college declamations. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show, that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceeding magnifical" struc-

tures of his Moghul predecessors,* it will check his aspirations to learn, that, beyond palaces and porticos, temples and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few saráis† and bridges—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps,—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail.‡ The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not

* This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor General, at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

† The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant seráis were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private, liberality.

‡ See p. 242.

attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have indulged himself with visions of Jehángír's broad highway from one distant Çapital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distances with saráís and tanks;—but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor: nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined mile-stone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this "delectable alley of trees," that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more lasting monument. When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and Alí Mardán Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination that, even if

the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch: but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Timúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Báber exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals, (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time,) he may perhaps be disposed to doubt if any thing was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,* he will learn to exercise a wise

* It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase. Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived

scepticism, on ascertaining that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli; that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Canauj was a favorite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Calpí; that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many weak controversialists have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister."

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

at the Court of Sháhjehán, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs."—*Hist. des Estats du Grand Mogol*, p. 5.

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akber to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghul Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest—at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálí seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute,

or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed more than any thing else to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated; but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions, is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose

interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers;—the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account;—the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests;—in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him

that,—notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement,—notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject,—we have already, within the half century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period;* and, drawing auguries from the

* I speak only with reference to my own Presidency—the North Western Provinces. Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education. To the North Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammedan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals. Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before; besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared. The bridge at Jaunpúr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison;—to say nothing of those over the Júa, the Khanaut, and the Kálí-nadí. In canals we have been fifty times more effective. Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole Provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial;—and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves;—leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress

past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the Rulers of India.

in the Doáb and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akber, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse, before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

Selected works for deposit in our College Libraries, exhibiting a series necessary for a full understanding of the history of Muhammedan India.

Táríkh-i-Ferishta.
Khulásatu-t-Tawáríkh.
Chachnáma.
Táríkh-i-Sind.
Tarjuma Yemíní.
Tabakát-i-Násirí, (in part.)
Táríkh-i-Fírozsháhí by Zía Barní.
Zafarnáma, (in part.)
Makhzan-i-Afghání.
Muntakhabu-l-Lubáb.
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Autobiography of Bábar.
Autobiography of Humaiyún.
Akbernáma.
Siwána-i-Akberí.
Parts of Táríkh-i-Badáúní, Zubdatu-t-Tawáríkh, and Másir-i-Rahímí.
Jehángírnáma, all three volumes.
Autobiography of Jehángír.
Bádsháhnáma, with continuation.
Másir-i-Álamgírí, both books.
Parts of Hadíkatu-s-Safá.
Táríkh-i-Irádat Khán.
Táríkh-i-Nádiru-z-Zamání.
Ibratnáma.
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TO THE

HISTORIANS

OF

MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.

GENERAL HISTORIES.

I.

جامع التواريخ رشيدي

JÁMIU-T-TAWÁRÍKH RASHÍDÍ.

THE Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh Rashídí was completed in A. H. 710—A. D. 1310—and although earlier works, such as the Kámilu-t-Tawáríkh of Ibnu-l-Athír, and the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizawí, will be brought under review when we come to the consideration of particular Dynasties, yet this is, in the order of date, the first General History which takes any notice of India, subsequent to the establishment of the throne of Dehli.

Fazlullah Rashíd, or Rashídu-d-Dín Ibn Imádu-d-Daulah Abúl Khair Ibn Muwáfika-d-Daulah, was born in A. H. 645—A. D. 1247—in the city of Hamadán. His practice of the medical art brought him into notice at the court of the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. He passed part of

his life in the service of Abáká Khán, the Tartar king of Persia, and one of the descendants of Halákú Khán. At a subsequent period, Gházán Khán, who was a friend to literature and the sciences, and who appreciated the merits of Rashídu-d-Dín at their proper value, appointed him to the post of Wazír in A. H. 697—A. D. 1297—in conjunction with Saadu-d-Dín. Rashíd-ud-Dín was maintained in his office by Oljáítú, surnamed Khodábandah, the brother and successor of Gházán Khán, and was treated by him with great consideration and rewarded with the utmost liberality. The author himself admits that no sovereign ever lavished upon a subject such enormous sums as he had received from Oljáítú Khán.

Rashídu-d-Dín and his successive colleagues did not manage to conduct the administration with unanimity; but this seems to have arisen less from any infirmity of our author's temper, than from the envy and malice which actuated his enemies. In his first rupture with Saadu-d-Dín he was compelled in self-defence to denounce him, and to cause him to be put to death. Alí Sháh Jabalán, a person of low origin, who had managed by his talents and intrigues to raise himself into consideration, was appointed Saadu-d-Dín's successor at Rashíd-ud-Dín's request, but with him he had shortly so serious a misunderstanding, that the Sultán was compelled to divide their jurisdiction, assigning the care of the Western provinces to Alí Sháh, and the Eastern to Rashídu-d-Dín.

Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two Wazírs continued at enmity, and shortly after the death of Oljáítú, who was succeeded by his son Abú Saíd, Alí Sháh so far succeeded in prejudicing the Sultán against the old Minister, that he was, after many years' faithful service, removed from the Wazárat in A. H. 717—A. D. 1317. A short time afterwards he was recalled, in order to remedy the mal-administration which was occasioned by his absence, but it was not long before he again lost favor at court, and was accused of causing the death of his patron Oljáítú Khán. It was charged against him that he had recommended a purgative medicine to be administered to the deceased chief, in opposition to the advice of another physician, and that under its effects the King had expired. Rashídu-d-Dín was condemned to death, and his family were, after the usual Asiatic fashion, involved in his destruction. His son Ibráhím, the chief butler, who was only sixteen years old, and by whose hands the potion was said to have been given to the chief, was put to death before the eyes of his parent, who was immediately afterwards cloven in twain by the executioner. Rashídu-d-Dín was 73 years* old when he died, and his death occurred in A. H. 718—A. D. 1318. His head was borne through the streets of Tabríz, and proclaimed by the public crier as the head of a Jew, his children and relatives

* This is the age assigned by M. Quatremère (*Coll: Orientale*, Tom. I. p. xliv.) but these must have been lunar years, if he was born in A. D. 1247.—Hammer-Purgstall says, Rashíd-ud-Dín was 80 years old when he died. (*Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 260.)

had their property confiscated, and the Raba Rashídí, a suburb which he had built at an enormous expense, was given up to pillage.

The body of the murdered Wazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but it was not destined to repose quietly in its last asylum. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Ázarbáíján, was given by Tímúr Lang to his son Mírán Sháh. This young Prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashídu-d-Dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews,—a renewal of the insult offered by his enemies at the time of his death, in order to render his name odious amongst Musalmáns. His eldest son, Ghaiásu-d-Dín, was subsequently raised to the same dignities as his father, and met with an equally tragical death.

Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashídu-d-Dín, perished in the course of the following year. Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment, alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime. He continued by his address to maintain his high honors and the favor of his master, for the space of six years, when he died; being the only Wazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who had not met with a violent death.

Rashíd-ud-Dín was endowed with a wonderful degree of ability and industry. Few men, even of those who have devoted their lives to research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by him, and when we recollect, that from his youth upwards he was involved in the intrigues and tumults of the court, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultáns, we cannot but feel the highest respect for his talents. Besides Medicine, together with those sciences which are immediately connected with it, he had cultivated with success, Agriculture, Architecture, and Metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musalmán controversy and doctrine. He was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility; this is attested by the voluminousness of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz.:—the Kitábu-t-Tawzíhát, the Miftáhu-t-Tafásír, and the Risálatu-s-Sultániat, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects,

which were written by him during the same period, such as a book on Rural Economy, and works on Theology, Medicine, and Musalmán Theology.

It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashídu-d-Dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházán Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world. This history occupies the first volume of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, and has received the highest commendation from European scholars.

The work was on the point of completion, when Gházán Khán died, A. H. 703—A. D. 1303. Oljáítú Khán, his successor, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed, and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe. Rashídu-d-Dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in A. H. 710—A. D. 1310—the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque constructed by the author at Tabríz. It is true that the author of the Táríkh-i Wassáf affirms, that Rashídu-d-Dín continued his work till A. H. 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Oljáítú. Haidar Rází, in his General History says, that the por-

tion relating to India was completed in A. H. 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches.

The entire work when completed, received from its author the title of Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, and the first volume, which may be considered as a history by itself, continued to be called the Táríkh-i Gházání, after the Prince by whose orders it was composed and to whom it was dedicated. A portion of the Táríkh-i Gházání has been admirably translated by M. Quatremère in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale*, and we are indebted to him for a full account of our Author's Biography and his literary merits. Mr. William Morley has not only undertaken to bring out an edition of the original work relating to the History of India, but to translate the whole of the lately discovered manuscript in the Library of the East India Company. I am not aware that any part of this task is yet performed. M. Erdmann has also promised an edition of the original.—(*Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322.)

In inquiries after this work care must be taken not to confound Jámiu-r-Rashídí with the Táríkh-i Rashídí, which is common in Hindústán, and derives its name of Rashídí chiefly (though other reasons are assigned) from being dedicated to the reigning Khán of Moghuls, Abdu-r-Rashíd Khán, by its author, Mirza Haidar Dúghlát Gúrgán. It contains nothing respecting the History of India. There is also a Turkish work of the name of Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh,

of which there is an account in Von Hammer's *Geschichte der Osmanischen Reiches* (Vol. ix. p. 180,) and which the same author quotes as one of his authorities in his *Geschichte der Assassinen*. —It was composed A. D. 1574, and is said to be compiled chiefly from the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizawí, and the Bohjatu-t-Tawáríkh of Shukrulla. There is also an Arabic History which, from similarity of name, may be mistaken for it, the Mukhtasir Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, by Ibn al Wárdí, a valuable General History from 1097 to 1543 A. D.

The following account of the contents of the entire Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris.

"The book called the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the Kings, Kháns, Amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe; also of the ancestors of Changéz Khán, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Oljáítú Sultán. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character, and of his wives and children, a notice of the Khalífahs, Kings, Sultáns, and Atábeks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

"The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Oljáítú from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by me, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the Prophets, Sultáns, and Kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them, I have taken from their own books, and from the mouths of the learned men of each

nation; it also gives the history of the people of the book, viz. the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the Sultáns and most celebrated Princes of each country; also an account of the Ismaílís, and many curious and instructive particulars.

"The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the Prophets, Kings, Khalífahs, the Arab tribes, the companions of the Prophet, Muhammed, &c., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní Abbás; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammed, and of the tribes descended from them; the series of Prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the Kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes; the genealogies of the Kaisars and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in a systematic order.

"The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes, and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely with extracts from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men and those who have themselves visited the countries described; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, the countries of the Franks, &c., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries."

This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the Táríkh-i Gházání, and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third. The easiest way of accounting for this contradiction is to suppose that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the Táríkh-i Gházání, the work is divided, as mentioned above, into three

volumes, according to the following distribution :—

The contents of the first volume are the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Khán. It comprises two books and several sections.

The second volume contains the history of Oljáítú Sultán, (to whom it was dedicated,) from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume. The second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again sub-divided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the Prophets, Khalífahs, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight, 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Oljáítú, "the Sultán of Islamism," as he is styled, and was destined to be continued in chronological order to the time of his death. "The historians who are, or may be, servants of the court, will take care to write this, and add it as a supplement to this second volume."

The third volume comprises the description of the geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned. "The author has, as far as was in his power, multiplied and verified his researches from all that was previously known on the subject in this country, whether described in books or drawn in charts. To this he has added all that during this fortunate epoch the philosophers and wise men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, Farang, and other countries have written, and has entered it all in this third volume, after having fully ascertained its authenticity."

The extended notice which is here given to Rashídu-d-Dín and the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, is not only due to his merits as an historian, and to the curious sources of his information on Indian subjects, but to the interest which has been excited within the last ten years by the discovery, under very peculiar circumstances, of the largest portion of the work, which was supposed to have been lost.

A full account of this extraordinary discovery is given in the sixth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the following extract from the letter of Professor Forbes, comprises some of the most interesting particulars of the circumstances with which it was attended.

Mr. W. Morley has kindly presented to me a copy of his interesting letter addressed to Major General Briggs, respecting the portion of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, now in the Society's Library. About the time when Mr. Morley's communication was passing through the press, I accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment forms about one-fifth. The two fragments have been clearly proved (as you will perceive hereafter) to be parts of the same grand original; and it is curious enough that after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation, they should have at last met in a portion of the earth so remote from their native city.

That portion of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh which forms the subject of the present hasty and imperfect communication, belonged to the late Colonel John Baillie, a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society. Shortly after the death of that eminent Orientalist, his house in town was let, and his books and manuscripts were temporarily removed to the house of a friend in Soho Square, previous to their being conveyed to the family estate in Inverness-shire. They have remained however undisturbed in Soho Square ever since. A fews weeks ago I happened to have a pupil who lived in the same house, and from his description of some of the MSS. I felt and expressed my wishes to see them, in which request I was most readily indulged.

The first, indeed I may say the only, work that caught my attention was a large Arabic manuscript of an historical nature, written in a beautiful and very old Naskhi hand, with many pictures very creditably executed, all things considered. On the back of this rare volume is written in a distinct Persian hand, "Táríkh-i-Tabarí," and as if this were not sufficient, there is a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Táríkh-i-Tabarí*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarí,) the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves when complete, amounted to 303; now however, some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hegira 706 (A. D. 1306-7)."

The information intended to be conveyed in this note, is, unfortunately, rendered very suspicious, by the date given in the conclusion; as Tabarí had flourished some 450 lunar years earlier. On examining the work itself, I found that the Muhammedan history came down to the last of the Khalífas of Bagdad; hence it could not be the original Tabarí. As D'Herbelot, however, has mentioned two writers who have continued the history of Tabarí down to their own times, I thought this might possibly be one of them, and in order to verify the circumstance, I took the Persian version with me next day to compare them; but after making the most liberal allowance for the freedom generally used by Oriental translators, I found that the two could never have been intended for the same work.

Resolved, if possible, to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion respecting the MS., I requested a very intelligent native of India to accompany me to see it. The moment this gentleman looked at it, he told me that whether it was Tabarí or not, he had seen the identical book some months back in a house where he visited. On further enquiry, I learned that the book to which he alluded, belonged to the Asiatic Society. Next day I examined the Society's MS. and found, as I had concluded, that it forms part of the *half* that is missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. In proof of this, I may mention that the ink and the handwriting are the same in both. The length and breadth and number of lines in each page are the same, and the paintings are in the same style in both. The work had been numbered originally by leaves or folios, as is usual in Oriental MS.; these numbers still remain on the second page of each leaf, and every leaf of the Society's fragment is missing in Colonel Baillie's work. There is no question then, that as Sádi hath it, "they are limbs of one another," for assuredly they originally consisted of but one work.

A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and a request was made that the Society would interest itself in searching for manuscripts of the work. A Circular was in consequence issued to many of the native chiefs and literati of India, but no satisfactory reply was received. Upon that occasion I pointed out to the Society that the work was probably in their own Library, for that an anonymous volume, purporting to contain precisely the same matter, was brought by Sir J. Malcolm

from Persia, and presented to the College of Fort William, as appeared from a notice at the end of Stewart's Catalogue of Tipú Sultán's Library. The work was searched for and discovered, in consequenee of this information, among those which were transferred from the College of the Asiatic Society. (See *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. X. p. 934.)

It was not till some years afterwards that I had the satisfaction of reading the superb French publication, entitled *Collection Orientale*, in the preface to the first Volume of which I found that the very same enquiry had been suggested by M. Quatremère, in the following passage: "au nombre des MSS. apportés de Perse par le Major Malcolm et offerts par lui au Collége du Fort William, je trouve un ouvrage ayant pour titre Djami-altawarikh-kadim. Ce livre ferait-il partie du travail de Rashideldin? C'est ce que je n'ai pu vérifier." (*Vie et les ouvrages de Rashideldin*, seconde Partie, p. lxxxv.) Had this enquiry then attracted the attention of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it would have resulted in an earlier discovery of the missing volume; but when at last it was drawn forth from their Library, it had become of comparatively little importance, for, in the meantime, a manuscript of the Persian original had been found in the Library of the East India House, of which a full description was shortly after given in the seventh volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, from which the following extract is taken.

The MS. in question is of a large folio size, and contains in all 1189 pages; but as numerous spaces have been left for the insertion of paintings, the actual volume of the work is not equal to its apparent extent; the character is a small and tolerably clear Nastalik; the transcriber was evidently both careless and ignorant, and the text abounds with errors—this is particularly conspicuous in the spelling of the names of places and individuals, the same name being frequently written in two or three different ways in the same page; many considerable omissions also occur in the body of the work, the original from which our MS. was transcribed being, in all probability, damaged or defective in those parts.

The Jámiu-l-Tawáríkh consists of a collection of histories, (as its name imports,) each distinct from the others and complete in itself. Those contained in our MS. occur in the following order.

I. A general history of Persia and Arabia, from the earliest times to the fall of the Khiláfat: this history comprises a preface and two sections. The preface contains an account of Adam and his children, of Núh and his posterity, of the reign of Kaiomars, the first of the kings of Fars, and of the tribes of the Arabs, to the time of the prophet Muhammed. This preface mentions that the history was composed in the year of the Flight 700, from various traditional and written authorities.

Section 1 contains a history of the kings of Fars, and of the events that occurred in their respective reigns; also accounts of the prophets from the time of Kaiomars until that of Yazdajird, the last of the kings of Ajam.

Section 2 contains a copious and detailed history of the prophet Muhammed and his Khalífahs to the time of Al Mustasim Billah. This history, which in our MS. comprises 364 pages, was transcribed in the month of Shawwál, in the year of the Flight 1081. It is contained entire in the MS. of Colonel Baillie, with the absence of forty-six leaves, seven of which are, however, to be found in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

II. A concise history of the Sultán Mahmúd Sobaktagín, the Ghaznavides, the Samánides, the Búyides, and some others, to the time of Abúa-l-Fath Módúd Ben Masaúd, and the year of his death, viz., the 547th of the Flight. This history comprises fifty-six pages, and was transcribed in the month Zí'l Hijjah, and the 1081st year of the Flight. This is also in Colonel Baillie's MS., of which it forms the third portion.

III. A history of the Saljúkí kings and of the Atábeks, to the time of Toghrul Ben Muhammed Ben Molik Sháh, the last of the Saljúks, who was slain in the year of the Flight 589. It comprises forty-two pages.

To this history is added a supplement, composed by Abú Hámid Ibn Ibráhím, in the year of the Flight 599; it contains

an account of the fall of the Saljúks, and the history of the kings of Khárizm, to the time of Jalála-l-Dín, the last of that dynasty. This supplement comprises twenty-five pages, and apparently formed part of the original Jámiu-l-Tawáríkh, as Professor Forbes mentions two leaves existing at the end of Colonel Baillie's MS., which are occupied with the history of Khárism.

IV. A history of Oghúz, and of the other Sultáns and Kings of the Turks; it comprises twenty-two pages. At the end, it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Kháns of Chín and Máchín.

V. A history of Khitá, and of the Kings of Chín and Máchín, to the time of the conquest by the Mongols. It comprises forty-six pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be succeeded by that of the Baní Isráíl. The concluding part of this account of Khitá is contained in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VI. A history of the children of Israel, comprising forty-eight pages. At the end it is stated that this history is to be followed by that of the Franks, and the date of transcription is said to be the month Safar, in the year of the Flight 1082. The first portion of this history occurs in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society.

VII. A history of the Franks, from the creation of Adam to the time when the author wrote, viz., 705th year of the Flight, giving a short account of the various Emperors and Popes, amounting to little more than a list of mis-spelt names. It comprises 122 pages, and bears the date of Rabiu-l-Awwál, in the year of the Flight 1082.

VIII. A history of the Sultáns of Hind and of the Hindús. It comprises fifty-eight pages. This history exists in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, supplying the lacuna in that MS., where about six pages are wanting.

IX. A treatise on metempsychosis, extracted from the Tauzíháti Rashídí by Rashidu-l-Dín. This treatise comprises twelve pages. The date of transcription is Rabiu-l-Awwál, in the 1082 year of the Flight; the name of the scribe is also here given, viz., Táhir Ibn Al Bákí Aláyí.

X. The general preface and contents of the whole volume, headed, "This is the book of the collection of histories."

This preface comprises eight pages. It has been published, with a translation by M. Quatremère, in the first volume of the *Collection Orientale.*

XI. The first volume of the Jámiu-l-Tawáríkh, entitled, the Táríkhi Gházání, and containing an account of the Turks and Mongols to the time of Oljáítú Khodábandah, who reigned when the author completed his work. This history comprises 386 pages, and was transcribed in the month Shabán, and the year of the Flight 1082.

By comparing this Table of Contents with the one above given by Rashídu-d-Dín himself, it will be seen that the India-House Manuscript does not contain the entire work; the parts deficient being, the first division of the second volume, containing the life of Oljáítú Sultán, with the supplementary journal, and the whole of the third volume, containing the Geography.

It is, however, very probable that the last volume was never written, for we nowhere find any mention amongst Eastern authors of Rashídu-d-Dín as a writer on Geography; and what gives greater colour to this probability is, that he intersperses some of his narratives with geographical details, which in many instances might be considered to supersede the necessity of any further notice in a separate volume. This may be observed in the case of the Geography of India, which will shortly have to be noticed. He exhausts in that brief account all that was then known to the Western Asiatics of the Geography of India, and he could therefore merely have repeated in the third, what he had already given in the second volume.

It does not appear that these successive discoveries of the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh in English collections have been followed by others on the Continent of Europe. None have been announced from Paris, or Leyden, and two passages in the Preface to the *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, (p. xv. and xxi.) show that, up to 1840, no copy had been discovered in Germany.

Mr. Morley perhaps attached a little too much importance to the discovery, for he entertained the same opinion as M. Quatremère, that the second portion of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh was altogether lost. To him is certainly due the credit of having rescued it from oblivion, but the work is by no means so much unknown as they had been led to suppose. Not only do Mírkhond and the author of the Kímyá-i-Saádat, notice it, as observed by Professor Forbes, but Sádik Isfahání quotes it under the article "Máchín" in his Tahkíku-l-Iráb, Muslihu-d-din-al-Lárí quotes it in his Mirátu-l-Adwár, Hamdulla Mustaufí in his Táríkh-i Guzída, Ahmed-al-Ghaffárí in his Nigáristán, and Haidar Rází confesses to have extracted from it no less than 40,000 lines, if *bait* may be so translated, when referring to an historical work in prose.

It seems to have been doubted whether the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh was originally written in Arabic or Persian. Most authors who have mentioned the work consider it to have been written in Persian, and translated under the author's direction into Arabic; but it is certain that no Persian copies were very generally available in Akbar's time, for Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní states, under the transactions of A. H. 1000, that he was directed by the Emperor to translate the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh from Arabic into Persian. It does not exactly appear from the text whether this was an abridgment or a translation, but the portion which was completed

by Abdu-l-Kádir is distinctly said to have been translated from the Arabic. It is curious that the translation of a part of the modern history, executed under the orders of Colonel Franklin, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society, should also bear the name of Abdu-l-Kádir, who thus appears to have executed a second time what his namesake had done before him more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

In the library of the British Museum there is a very valuable copy of the Persian original, (No. 7628, Addit.) written by different transcribers, as early as A. D. 1314, four years before the author's death. This copy was noticed by Dr. Bernhard Dorn in the preface to his "History of the Afgháns," before the appearance of the articles above mentioned. It is supposed to have belonged to Oljáítú Khán, and to have come subsequently into the possession of Sháh Rukh, the son of Timúr. It would indeed have been surprising had the work been so little known as is supposed, for we are informed in the Táríkh-i Wassáf and Rauzatu-s-Safá, that the author expended no less than 60,000 dínárs in the transcription and binding of his own writings. Every precaution was taken by him to secure his labours from destruction, and considerable revenues were set aside for the purpose of copying and disseminating them, both in Arabic and Persian, throughout the most considerable cities of the Muhammedan world.

I know of no copy in India except the Asiatic Society's volume, which will shortly receive more

particular notice; but an exceedingly valuable portion of the work, comprising the account of India, exists in the Royal Library at Lakhnau, under the wrong title of Táríkh-i Sabuktigín. It includes portions of three different Books, for it begins with the history of Mahmúd Sabuktigín and the dynasty of the Ghaznavides, and contains the history of the Kings of Khwárazm, the Saljúkians, the Búyides, and part of the history of Khalifs. It is embellished with paintings which are beyond the average degree of Asiatic merit, and the text is written in a clear *naskh* character, comprising one hundred and five folios, with thirty-five lines to a page. It would be useful for the purpose of collation, although in many parts it is written very incorrectly, especially in the names of places, where accuracy is particularly desirable. I know of two copies of the Táríkh-i Gházání, but they contain no portion which has not already been made familiar to the public by the French edition of M. Quatremère noticed above.*

I will now proceed to describe the volume in the Asiatic Society's Library,—premising that it was copied A. H. 1098, and is written in a clear *nastalík* character.

* Compare *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. V. pp. 265—272. *Journal des Savans*, 1838. pp. 501—514. Klaproth, *Mem.* Tom. I. p. 293. Von Hammer, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, pp. 12, 242. Dr. Bernhard Dorn, *Hist. of the Afghans*, p. xv. Wilken, *Hist. Ghaznevidarum*, p. xii. *Journal of the Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, Vol. IX. p. 1131; Vol. X. p. 934. *Sádik Isfahání*, p. 45. *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd Series, Tom. I. p. 322; 3rd Series, No. 36, pp. 571—589. *Collection Orientale*, Vol. I. pp. 1—175. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.* Vol. VI. pp. 11—41; Vol. VII. pp. 267—272. *Geschichte der Ilchane*, Vol. II. pp. 150, 219, 243, 259—262. M. Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom: I. 138—441.

I. A history of the Saljúkí kings, to the last of the dynasty, Abú Tálib Tughril, son of Arslán. This extends to p. 44, where a continuation by Abú Hámid Muhammed, son of Ibráhím, commences, comprising also the history of the Sultáns of Khwárazm, extending from pp. 44 to 64.

II. A history of Oghúz and the Turks. From pp. 65 to 77. The epigraph states that it is followed by a history of China.

III. A history of the kháns and kings of Chín and Máchín, and of the capital called Khitá. The portraits in this book almost all represent the kings with two tails below their caps. At the end it is stated that this chapter is followed by an account of the Baní Isráil. This history extends from pp. 78 to 114.

IV. A history of the children of Isráil, said to be succeeded by a history of the Franks and Cæsars. From pp. 115 to 156.

V. This book is divided into two chapters and several sections.

Chapter 1st. Adam and his descendants.—Núh and his descendants.—Ibráhím and his descendants, to the Virgin Mary.—Moses.—The kings of Persia.—The Greeks.—The Arabs.—Muhammed.—The Moghuls.—The Khalífas to the close of the Abbáside dynasty.

Chapter 2nd. On the belief of Christians.—The country of Armenia.—The country, seas and islands of the Franks.—The birth of the Messiah.—The Emperors of Rúm.—The Popes and Cæsars, with fancy portraits intended to represent each of these two last.

The proper sequence is interrupted by some mistake of the binder, but the whole of this unconnected book extends from pp. 157 to 467.

VI. A history of Sultán Mahmúd Sabuktigín.—The Ghaznavides.—Sámánides, and the Búyides. The subdivisions of this book are as follows:—

Respecting the victory of Bust.—The victory of Kasdár.—Account of Sístán.—Regarding Kábús and Fakhru-d-Daulah.—Concerning the restoration of Fakhru-d-Daulah to his government, and his friendship with Hisámu-d-Daulah Tásh.—Respecting Abú-l Hasan, son of Símhúr, and his administration in Khorásán, to the time of his death, and the succession of his son Ubú Alí.—Regarding Fáik and his condition after his defeat at Marv.—Retirement of Núh, son of Mansúr, from Bokhárá, and the arrival of Bughrá Khán at Bokhárá.—Regarding Abú-l Kásim, son of Símhúr and brother of Abú Alí, and his condition after his separation from his brother.—The Amíru-l Múminín Alkádir Billah confers a robe of honour on Sultán Yemínu-d-Daulah.—The return of Abdu-l Malik.—Abú Ibráhím Ismaíl and the occurrences between him, Eibak Khán and Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d-Dín.—Regarding the Sámání Amírs, and the occurrences of their reigns.—Relating to the friendship and enmity between

Násiru-d-Dín, Sabuktigín and Khalaf, son of Ahmad, and the assumption of the reins of government by the Sultán.—Respecting Shamsu-l-Maálí Kábús, and his return to his country.—The friendship and subsequent enmity between the Sultán and Eibak Khán.—Relating to the sacred war of Bhátiah.—Repecting the capture of the fort of Bhím.—Regarding the family of the khalif Alkádir Billáh, and his government.—His attachment to the Sultán and Baháu-d-Daulah, son of Uzdu-d-Daulah.—An account of Baháu-d-Daulah.—Respecting the affair at Nárain.—Relating to the sacred war of Ghor.—Regarding the traitors after their return from Máwaráu-n-Nahr.—Relating to the retirement of Bughrá Khán from Bokhárá, and the return of Núh, son of Mansúr, to his home.—Respecting the Afgháns.—Amír Nasr, son of Násiru-d-Din Sabuktigín.—The reign of Muhammed, son of Mahmúd.—The reign of Abú-l Fateh Maudúd, son of Masaúd, son of Mahmúd. From pp. 468 to 523.

VII. On Hind and Sind and Shákmúní, divided into the following chapters and sections :—

Chapter 1st. On eras and revolutions.—The measurement of the earth.—On the four júgas.—The hills and waters of Hind.—On its countries, cities and towns.—On the islands.—The Sultáns of Dehli.—The birth of Básdeo, and the kings of India preceding Mahmúd.—On Cashmír, its hills, waters and cities.—An account of the kings of the Trítá júg.—The kings of the Dwápar júg.—The kings of the Kal júg.

Chapter 2nd. An account of the prophets of the Hindús, of whom there are six of the highest class, Shákmúní being the sixth.—On the birth of Shákmúní.—On the properties and signs of a perfect man.—On the character, conduct, and sayings of Shákmúní.—On the austerities of Shákmúní, and his incorporation with the divine essence.—Further proceedings of Shákmúní.—On his appearance in various forms.—On the knowledge of certain prayers addressed to God.—On the different degrees of metempsychosis, and the number of hells.—How a man can become a god.—How a man can escape from the form of a beast.—How a man can escape from the form of another man.—On the difference between men and angels.—On the questions put to Shákmúní by the angels.—On the information given by Shákmúní respecting another prophet.—On the rewards of paradise and the punishments of hell, and the injunctions and prohibitions of Shákmúní.—On the establishment of his religion in Hind and Cashmír.—On the death of Shákmúní, and the events which followed. From pp. 524 to 572.

VIII. An essay in refutation of the doctrine of transmigration, extracted from the Tauzíhát-i-Rashídí. From pp. 572 to 581.

Size—Large Folio, containing 581 pages, of 30 lines to a page.

It appears, therefore, that this volume comprises the same matter as the East India House MS., with the exception of the Táríkh-i Gházání, of which that MS. contains the first portion. The arrangement, however, of the several books is very different, as will be evident to any one who feels disposed to compare them.

The following extract is taken from the continuation of the History of the Saljúkian sovereigns, and recounts one of the most interesting events in Indian History. Other historians have narrated the same circumstances without much variation, except in the minor details. (Compare Mírkhond, *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, Book iv. Ferishta, Book ix. *History of Sind.* Abú-l-fedá, *Annales Muslemici*, Vol. IV. p. 382. M. Petis de la Croix, Senior, *Histoire de Genghizcan*, Ch. xxxiv. D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Art. *Gelaladdin*; and De Guignes, *Histoire Générale des Huns*, Tom. II. p. 281.) These four last chiefly derive their accounts from Muhammed-bin-Ahmed Nasawí, the friend of Jalálu-d-Dín, and the companion of his journies and expeditions. This work, entitled *Seirat-i Jalálu-d-Dín Mankberní*, is in the Royal Library of Paris, No. 845. It is in eight chapters, and the history is brought down to Jalálu-d-Dín's death, A. D. 1231. It was composed in 1241. (See Rémusat, *Nouv: Mél: As:* Tom. I. p. 435.)

The passage here selected will show in what imminent danger India was then placed of sustaining an invasion of the Moghuls, headed by

Changez Khán in person. Some of the authorities above quoted mention that several bodies did cross over the Indus in pursuit, and that Prince Chaghatáí Khán headed an attack against Multán, and captured it.

At nightfall every one retired to his tent, and in the morning both armies were again drawn up in battle array. This day Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín marched on foot at the head of his army, and all at once made a charge upon the Moghuls, and put them to flight. The kettle-drums were beaten in triumph by order of the Sultán, and his whole army pursued the Moghuls on horseback at full speed. At one time the defeated Moghuls rallied, but the Sultán rushed upon them, like a lion or crocodile upon its prey, and put many to death. Changez Khán shortly afterwards being reinforced with a small body of men, moved like destructive lightning or a rapid torrent against the Sultán. In the meantime, a dispute arising between Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák and Amín Malik, (Governor of Herát) on account of the distribution of booty,* and especially respecting the right to a particular horse, the latter struck the former on the head with a whip. The king called upon Amín Malik to give an explanation of his conduct, but he replied that it was not the custom of Kátkalí troops to be held responsible for their proceedings. Upon learning this, Saifu-d-Dín deserted the Sultán under cover of night, and went off with his troops to the hills of Kermán and Sankúrán. The alienation of Saifu-d-Dín Ighrák materially affected the power of the Sultán, and diminished his chance of success. He immediately made towards Ghazní, with the object of crossing the Indus, and for that purpose ordered boats to be kept in readiness. This circumstance coming to the knowledge of Changez Khán, the latter hastened in pursuit of the Sultán, and surrounded him. At daybreak, the Sultán finding himself placed in a position between water and fire, with the Indus on the one side and the fiery enemy on the other, was prepared to give battle. Changez Khán fell upon the right wing commanded by Amín Malik, like a fierce lion upon a lame leopard, and drove it back with great slaughter. Amín Malik being thus defeated, fled towards Pershawar; but as the Moghul army was in possession of the road, he was slain, in the endeavour to effect his escape. Changez Khán compelled the left wing also to give way, but the Sultán firmly maintained his ground in the centre with seven hundred men, and opposed the enemy from the

* This booty was chiefly captured at the battle of Birúán, within a short distance of Ghazní, and which is erroneously supposed by Dr. Lee to be the Badáún of Dow and Ferishta.—*Ibn Batuta*, p. 97.

morning to mid-day, moving now to right now to left, sustaining every attack, and on each occasion slaying a number of the enemy. Meantime, the army of Changez Khán came pressing forward, and surrounding the position occupied by the Sultán. At last Ajásh Malik, son of the king's maternal uncle, seeing the dangerous position of his Majesty, seized the bridle of his charger, and persuaded him to leave the field. The Sultán bade adieu to his sons and female relatives, with a heavy heart and burning tears, and ordering his favorite horse to be prepared, he sprung on it, and rushed again into the torrent of conflict, like a crocodile into a river, and charged the enemy with irresistible force. Having succeeded in driving them back, he turned his horse's head, threw off on the way his coat of mail and shield; and urging his horse, plunged into the river, though the bank was upwards of thirty feet above the stream. He then swam* across like a noble lion, and reached the opposite bank in safety. Changez Khán witnessed the gallant exploit, and hastening to the bank prohibited the Moghuls from attempting to follow. The very heavens exclaimed in surprise "They never saw in the world any man equal to him, nor did they ever hear of one like him among the celebrated heroes of antiquity."† Changez Khán and all the Moghul nobles were astonished to find that the Sultán crossed the river in safety, and sat watching him as he wiped the water off his scabbard.‡ Changez Khán turning round to the Sultán's sons,§ addressed them in words expressive of his admiration.

* The original distinctly says "swam across the Jihún"—whether intentionally, or by error of the copyist, is doubtful. Eastern authors for a long time considered, either that the source of the Mehrán (Indus) was the river Jihún (Oxus), or that the sources of the two rivers were in the same mountain. (Uylenbrock, *Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 54; Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 179, 205; Ouseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 155; Masaúdí, *Meadows of Gold*, p. 38). A similar perverse use of the Sihún (Jaxartes) also occurs in the Tárikhi Yemín-í, where it is used to signify the Indus, and can be applicable to no other river; and again in Abú-l-fedá (*Annal: Muslem:* Vol: III. p. 113) where Reiske observes, "In Arabico legitur *Sihunum*, quod aperte mendosum est."

† Four years before, Shamsu-d-Dín, the king of Dehli, had done the same thing, when in pursuit of Násiru-d-Dín Kabácha, and though he succeeded in reaching the opposite bank with a few followers, many were drowned in the attempt. Mahárájá Ranjít Singh has gained fame by his accomplishment of the same feat.

‡ The Rauzatu-s-Safá and Ferishta represent Jalálu-d-Dín as having carried his canopy with him, and seating himself under it when he had attained the opposite bank. The former also mentions that Changez Khán killed all the males in the Sultán's camp, and ordered his servants to search for the jewels which the Sultán had thrown into the Indus before his escape.

§ The Habíbu-s-Siyar differs from other authorities in saying he turned round, and addressed his own sons.

After his escape, the Sultán was joined by about ten persons who had also succeeded in crossing the river. They all concealed themselves in the woods, where, before long, fifty other persons joined their number. When the Sultán received intelligence that a number of Hindús, consisting of cavalry and infantry, were lying within two parasangs of him, and had given themselves up to pleasure, he ordered his followers to provide themselves with clubs. Thus armed, they made a sudden night-attack upon the Hindú force, put many to death, and plundered their cattle and weapons. Upon this, several other people, some on mules and some on horned cattle, came over, and declared for the Sultán. Information being afterwards received that there were in the neighbourhood two or three thousand men of the Hindú force, he attacked them with one hundred and twenty men, put a number of them to the sword, and equipped his followers with the arms taken from the vanquished. When the report of the success and power of the Sultán was spread throughout India, a number of men from the hills of Balálá* and Nekálá assembled, and in a body of about five or six thousand horse, attacked the Sultán, who, drawing up in array five hundred horse, dispersed them. The Sultán afterwards received aid from several other bodies of men, so that there now flocked round his standard not less than three or four thousand men. All this came to the knowledge of the world-conquering king (of Delhi) who had already raised an army to oppose him, while he was within the limits of the Ghaznín territory—but when the Sultán first crossed the river, he was not able to cope with these troops, and therefore passed on as a fugitive towards Dehli.

The Moghuls, on hearing that he had taken that course, returned, and pillaged the confines of Ghor. The Sultán, on reaching the vicinity of Dehli, deputed messengers to king Shamsu-d-Dín to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dehli. The King after mature reflection deputed a messenger† on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence, on the ground that the climate of India would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Balálá and Nekálá. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Táju-d-Dín Malik Khilj, accompanied by a force, to Rái Kúkár‡ Saknín, in the hills of Júdí,§ with a request

* All who record these events concur in reading the first word as Balálá. The second may be either Bánkálá or Mankálá.

† Mirkhond and Ferishta mention that the Sultán's ambassador or messenger was secretly poisoned, the object of which is not very apparent.

‡ Other authorities read Ghakar.

§ Amongst Oriental Geographers this is the name of mount Ararat in Armenia, on which Noah's ark is said to have rested. In the Panjáb it applies to the salt range.

for the hand of his daughter, which request Rái Kúkár complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon the Sultán, who gave the name of Kutlagh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pái against Násiru-d-Dín Kabácha,* who was at enmity with Rái Kúkár. Kabácha, though he was an Amír under the Ghorian Kings, and governor of the country of Sind, yet was presumptuous enough to aspire to independence. When this chief and twenty thousand of his followers were encamped on the banks of the Indus within one parasang of Úch, Jehán Pahluwán Uzbek, with seven thousand men, suddenly fell upon them at night, defeated, and dispersed them. Kabácha embarked in a boat for Akar and Bakar (two island forts in his possession), while the Uzbek returned to his camp, taking possession of whatever fell in his way. He sent the news of this victory to the Sultán, who marched out, and with the army, which was under the command of the Uzbek, reached the palace of Kabácha. The latter being defeated fled from Akar and Bakar to Múltán, where the Sultán sent an ambassador to him with a demand for money, and for the surrender of the son and daughter of Amír Khán, who had taken shelter at Múltán, having fled from the battle which took place on the banks of the Indus. Kabácha sent the son and daughter of Amír Khán with a large contribution in money, soliciting at the same time that his territories might not be despoiled. The weather, however, growing hot, the Sultán determined to proceed from Úch to the Júdí hills, and on his way besieged the fort of Bisrám, where in an engagement he was wounded in the hand by an arrow. In the end, the Sultán captured the fort, and put all who were in it to the sword. At this place he received intelligence of the movement of the Moghul troops, who were endeavoring to effect his capture. He sent an ambassador to Kabácha to intimate his return, and to demand the tribute due by him. Kabácha however, refused and took up arms against him. The Sultán did not consider it expedient to remain at Úch, and as the inhabitants of that place had revolted, he set fire to the city and marched upon Sadúsán, where Fakhru-d-Dín had been the Governor before the establishment of Kabácha's power. Lachín of Khita, the commander of the troops, marched to oppose him. The latter was slain in the conflict, but the former, upon the Sultán's arrival at the place, with tears supplicated for pardon, and presented his sword in token of submission The Sultán remained there for one month, and then conferred an honorary dress upon Fakhru-d-Dín, and making over to him the government of Sadúsán, marched towards Dewal (Daibal) and Damríla. Hasrar, who was the ruler of this territory, took to flight and embarked on a boat. The Sultán on reaching the borders of Dewal and Damríla deputed Khás Khán with a force to Nahrwála, from which place he brought away much spoil and many prisoners. Shortly after,

* Kabájah is the common spelling.

the Sultán entered Dewal and Damríla, and erected a great mosque in the former place, opposite the temple of an idol.* In the meantime, intelligence was received from Irák that Ghaiásu-d-Dín Sultán had settled himself in Irák; that most of the troops of that country professed their attachment to Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín, and felt anxious for his presence. Upon this the Sultán prepared to join them, but on learning that Birák Hájib was with hostile intentions fortifying the strong post of Budsír in Kirmán, he determined on proceeding to Irák by way of Mekrán.

The next extract relates to the Geography of India. It is taken almost entirely from the work of Abú Ríhán al-Bírúní, composed in the early part of the eleventh century, and therefore represents the knowledge of India which was attained by the Mahometan invaders three hundred years before our author wrote. We are fortunately able to compare a great part of this passage with the original Arabic which has lately been published by M Reinaud, and it will be seen how few additions have been made by Rashídu-d-Dín, and how scrupulously he follows his predecessor, even in his errors. M. Reinaud is mistaken (*Fragments*, p. xv.) in supposing that our author did not make use of the published chapters of Bírúní. For the purpose of comparison, a Note† is appended, showing what was the knowledge attained of India by eastern Geographers before the time of Al Bírúní; from which it will be evident that the whole of upper India was a perfect *terra incognita*, and that the Arabians knew much less of it than Pliny and Ptolemy. Even Abú-l-fedá, who

* Ferishta says that the name of the chief of Daibal, or Thatta, was Jaishí, and that the Sultán demolished the temples of the idols at that place.

† See Note A.

wrote more than three centuries later, and quotes the works of Edrísí and Yácút, and most of the other geographical treatises written during that interval, gives us less information about India than is contained in the following extract. This consideration, therefore, will be a sufficient apology for its length.

Section III.

On the hills and rivers of Hind and Sind.

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into three equal* parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Pátanjalí. It resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water, as is seen in the annexed plate.† The mountains and plains in these three parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from east to west, i. e. from the eastern extremity of China through Tibet, the country of the Turks, Cábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Khurásán, Gílán, Ázarbáíján, Armenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. Their faces are varied, embracing between their projections plains and inhabited spots. Rivers flow at their base. Hind is surrounded on the south by the sea,‡ and on the north by the lofty mountains and

* See Ritter, *Erdk.* IV., 2, 495, and Lassen, *Ind. Alterthums* I. 92.

† This may perhaps be translated "just as we see it at this day."

‡ The original Arabic says: "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh. "If you examine the country of Hind, and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand, where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers."

plains which contain the sources of these rivers; on the east by Chín and Máchín, and on the west by Cábul. On the north lie Cashmír, Turkistán and the mountain of Merú, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole. The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months.*

In a different direction from this hill stands another, not circular, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Himma mountains lie on the north of Kanauj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Cashmír in its centre and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,† and Sakália to the sea of Jurján and Khwárazm. The northern mountains have connection with mount Merú, which lies south of them. The rivers of the entire country of Hind which flow from the northern mountains amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to the same number. Their sources are very distant, towards the farthest south-east quarter of the earth. They discharge themselves into the sea. Those, however, which rise in the extreme south do not discharge themselves into the sea.

Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet on the one side, and India on the other, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountain chains of Hindústán. Its ascent is eighty parasangs. From its summit India looks black, and the passes and rugged declivities at its foot look like little hillocks, while Tibet and China appear red. The descent from its lowest eminence to Tibet is one parasang. This mountain is so high that Firdúsí probably meant the following verse to apply to it:—"It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you can see from it the belly of a fish as well as the back of the moon."

Some other mountains are called Harmakut, in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable, and beyond them lies Máháchín. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin. Besides these moun-

Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern Geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. The very latest writer on this subject observes: "Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. clxxxviii. p. 140.

* Compare Strabo II. 1—19. Plin. N. H. VI. 22. 6 and Solinus 52. 13.

† The original has Khúz. Khazar appears correct; it is the name of a son of Noah, after whom Dasht-i-Khazar, a region of the sixth climate, is called. (*Sádik Isfahání*, p. 23.)

tains there are others called Kalárchal. They resemble crystal balls, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damávend. They can be seen from Tákas and Laháwar. There are certain other mountains called Bilor, in the country of the tribe of Turks denominated Hamílán. In two days' journey you arrive at another part of Turkistán where the Bhotyas and Dyán dwell. Their king is called Bhot Shah, and their cities are Gilgit, Asúrah, Salsas,* &c., and their language is Turkí. The inhabitants of Cashmír suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations. The mountains which are noticed in this version of Abú Ríhán can be distinguished from each other as easily as a tortoise from the water, by attending to the enumeration above given.

The stream which flows by Cábul has its source in the mountains of the country of Cábús, and is called the Ghurrúr. It passes by Birúán, Absaprohit, Sáká and Lamghán, near which it combines with the Sanya Ghárak at the fort of Dirúna. It then falls into the Núrúkerát, and the united rivers form a large stream opposite Pershâwar† which is known as the Labarú.‡ They fall into the Sind near the fort of Tankúr, a city dependent on the city of Candahar,§ which is in Hind. After that, comes

* Gilgit retains its name to the present day; Asúrah is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsahí is perhaps Chelás on the Indus. M. Reinaud reads Schaltas.

† As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Pershâwar. Hence the Chinese divide the first syllable into Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purusha. See the *Foe-koue-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-twan-lin*, by M. Rémusat.—*Nouv : Mélanges Asiat :* Tom. I. p. 196.

‡ This is perhaps meant for Al-Bára, but the entire passage is very doubtful in the original, and much has been translated conjecturally.

§ The proper name is Gandhárá, almost always converted by Musulmán writers into Candahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Candahár of the west. The Gandhárás on the Indus are well known to the Sanscrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Raj Tarangini*, Tom. II. pp. 316—321. It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Gangarias of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country. The name given to them by Dionysius, in his Periegesis, resembles this modern name more than the Sanscrit one. He says, Διωνύσου θεράποντες Γαργαρίδαι ναίουσιν. He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M. Lassen consider that we should read Γανδαρίδαι. Herodotus calls them Γανδαριοι. The Γορύανδις of Nonnus, which M. Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhárás, is probably to be looked for elsewhere. See also Mannert, *Geographie der Greichen und Romen*, Vol. V. pp. 5, 30, 107. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. Lassen, *De Pentap. Ind.* p. 15—17. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 453. *Ersch and Gruber's Encyc :* Art. *Indien*, p. 2.

the river of Tibet, called the Jailam. The waters of the Chandra combine with it, and fifty miles below the junction, the united stream flows to the west of Múltán. The Bíah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Rávi) fed by the stream of Kaj, besides that of Koh, which both flow from the hills of Bhátel.* They all combine with the Sutlej below Múltán, at a place called Panjnad, on account of the junction of the five rivers. They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and carrying them off like so many nests of birds. This stream, when it passes Alor† and enters Sind under the name of Mihrán, flows with a slower current, and forms several islands as far as Mansúra, which city it also encloses within two of its arms. From this place, the river flowing by two streams empties itself into the sea, one in the neighbourhood of the city of Lahárání,‡ and the other, under the name of Sind Ságar, that is, the river of Sind, after a winding course towards the east, enters the sea on the borders of the territory of Cach. In the same way as these rivers, when united, derive their name from the number five, so the seven rivers, flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, and falling above Termez into the river of Balkh, are called by the fire-worshippers of Soghd the Saba Sind, or seven Sinds.

The river Sarsut falls into the sea to the east of Súmnáth.

The Jumna falls into the Gangá, which flows to the east of Canauj. After uniting they fall into the sea near Gangá Ságar. The river Nermad (Nerbadda) lies between the mouths of the Sarsutí and Gangá. Its source is in the eastern hills, and it has a south westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,§

* There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original.

† This is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms in different works. Ibn Haukal calls it *Alrúz*. The Geographia Nubiensis gives it as *Dúr*. In the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh it resembles *Alrúz*. The ruins of Alore are between Bakar and Khairpúr, on the eastern bank of the Indus.

‡ This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell, (*Memoir*, p. 285) Lahariah of M. Kosegarten (*De Mohammede, Comment: Acad.*) and the Lohari of Dr. Lee, (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 102). Ibn Batuta remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put. At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones; and indeed stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable."

§ This is spelt by various authors Barúj, Barús, Bahruj and Bahrúch. It is the Baroach of the present day, the Βαρύγαζα εμπόριον of Ptolemy

about sixty Yojanas to the east of Súmnáth. On the other side of the Gangá, the Rahet, the Gomatí, and the Sarjú unite* near the city of Bárí. The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, from whence it is precipitated on the earth in seven streams, the centre being denominated the Gangá. The three eastern streams are the Pálan, the Ládi and Nalin. The three western streams are the Sít, the Chakas and Sind.† When the Sít leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries of Silk, Karsíb, Chín, Barbar, Jír, Sankurkiet, Mankilkgor and Sakrít, and falls into the western ocean. On the south of it is the river Chakas, which flows by the countries of Damrú, Kálik, Dholak, Nijár, Barbar, Raj, Salkúbar, and Ijat. The Sind has its course through the country of that name and—(here follow thirteen illegible names). The Gangá after flowing through Bargund-

and Arrian, and the Bhrigukacha of the Sanscrit authorities. See Ptol. *Geog.* Lib. VII. Cap. 1, Tab. 10; Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. and Rom.* Vol. V. p. 127. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. IV. Pt. II. p. 626, Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 18. Lassen, *Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 107.

* M. Reinaud (p. 100) gives the first as Rahab. A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Mahometan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rámgangá. The union of the Sarjú with the Gomatí, which M. Reinaud reads Kúbín, is a fable. There is no confluence of three rivers at Bárí, but not far off from it the Jamnuárí and the Kathení unite with the Gomatí. The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Saraen and Perhí, names which conform pretty well with the رهب and سرو of M. Reinaud's manuscript.

† These are evidently the Síta and Chackshu of Bhaskara Acharya. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer:—

"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of Síta this river joins the Bhadraswa; as the Alakanandá it enters Bharatavarsha; as the Chacksa it proceeds to Retumala, and as the Bhadra it goes to the Kuru of the north." *Siddhánta Sirómani; Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38. See also *Vishnu Purána*, p. 171.

Prof. Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents; the southern branch is the Ganges of India, the northern branch which flows into Turkey, is the Bhadrasámá, the eastern branch is the Síta, and the western is the Chakshu or Oxus." *Sanscrit Dict.* Art. *Meru.* But the Rámáyana mentions seven streams, and from that work Bírúní evidently copied his statement. The true Sanscrit names are almost identical with those given in the text. The eastern streams are Hládaní, Pávaní and Naliní, the western are Síta, Suchakshu and Sindhu. In the centre flows the Bhágírathí. The Matsya and Pádma Puránas give the same account. See *Rámáyana*, Lib. I. XLIV. 14, 16. Ed. Schlegel.

hart (and four other illegible* names), and other cities, arrives at the defiles of the hills of Band, where are many elephants, and then discharges itself into the southern ocean.

Among the eastern streams is Láwan, which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are

* For the purpose of comparison I subjoin the passage as it is given in the Calcutta and Lucnow (Lakhnau) copies. As the copyists were evidently ignorant of what they were writing, they have for the most part omitted, or guessed, the diacritical points.

The first Extract is from the Calcutta copy.

نهرسب چون از هممنت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک بگذرد
و کرسب و حیین و بربر و حبره لنگرکلب سکرت پس در بهر
معروف افتد و از جنوب او نهر کلش که ازان در ممالک دمرو
و کاکل و دهولک و بحار و بربرکاخ بکر نیونار و انجت میخورند
اما آب سند و یعوق کند و درد درندنند و کابرهار روش کروز
سنور اندر مرد سیاب سند کند بهیمروز مرمون سکور درنهر لنک
بر کلدیرت راسکین بلاداد اورکان هند باره شهر و قصبات دیگر
لنگ بر ایشان بگذرد

The following is from the Lucnow copy.

نهر سند چون از هممنت بیرون آید بر ممالک سلک بگذرد
و کبوشب و حیین و بربر و حبریه بشکر کلت منکلک کور منکونت
پس در بحر مغرب ریزد و از جنوب او نهر جکش که آب آن در
ممالک دمرد و کالک و دهولک و بنجار و بربرکاج ثلغومار وانجت
میخورند اما اب سند ممالک سند را خرق کند و دردرندنند
و کاندهار رورس کرورمیو اندر مرد بسات هند و کت بهیمروز
مرمودز سکورر و نهر کنک بر عمود اوسط ممر بگذرد بر کندهرت
واکبش برادر و اورکان و چند باره شهرها و قصبات دیگر کنک
بر ایشان بگذرد

exceedingly black: whence it runs through other countries, and falls into the eastern sea in eight different channels.

The river Máwan runs by Katah, and falls into the Barna. It flows through several countries, and then arrives at a country where they drink an electuary of hemp. The Brahmans also drink it. Thence it flows through Bimán, and thence falls into the sea of Jáj.

The river Makan flows through Námrán and other countries, where people have their habitations in the hills. They are called Harkaran Barabaran, that is, their ears descend to their shoulders.* Thence it runs to Asmuk,† where men's faces are like those of animals, and then falls into the sea.

The Lashan is a very large stream.

Section IV.

Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants.

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into three parts. The Indians are of opinion that it is nine times larger than Irán, and is included within three Aklims (climates) in the following manner, viz. the western portion is in the third climate, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate. Its central territory is called Madhyades, which means "the middle land." The Persians call it Canauj. It is called the Madhyades, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east. Its capital was the residence of the all-powerful and independent kings of India. Sind lies on

* These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rámáyana, the Karna-právaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashtakarnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Ashtha-Karnakas, "having lips extending to their ears." See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 456. Robertson, *Ancient India*, p. 34.

† This is evidently meant for the Sanscrit word Aswamukha, the "horse-faced." They are noticed also in the Sequel of the Periplus. They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera. The tales of these demigods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals. See Ælian, *Nat: Animal.* IV. 46. *Ctesiæ Operum Reliquiæ*, ed: Bayer, p. 320. Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 36. Plin: *Histor. Nat.* VII. 2. Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. p. 524. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 338, and Vol. IX. p. 68.

the west of this territory, and if any one wishes to come from Nímroz or Írán to this country, he will have to pass through Cábul. The city of Canauj stands on the western bank of the Ganges. It was formerly the chief city of India, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen to ruin, and Bárí, which is three days journey from it on the eastern side of the Ganges, has now succeeded as the capital. Canauj is as celebrated for being the capital of the Pándú kings, as Mathúra (Muttra) is on account of its being the abode of Básdeo, or Krishna. This city lies on the eastern bank of the Jamna, at the distance of twenty-seven farsangs from Canauj. The city of Thanesar is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy farsangs north of Canauj, and within fifty farsangs of Mathúra. The Ganges issues from a source styled Gangdwár, and waters most of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from others.

In stating these distances we will begin from Canauj. In going towards the south, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jájmau,* at a distance of 12 farsangs, each farsang being equal to four miles; 8 farsangs from that is Karwah;—from Karwah to Brahmashk, 8;—thence to Abhápúrí 8;—thence to the tree† of Prág, 12. This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve‡ farsangs. From the same confluence, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tírat,§ which is distant 12 farsangs;—to the country of Urílhár,‖ 40;—to Urda-

* M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that Jájmau, close to Kánhpúr, (Cawnpoor) is meant.

† The mention of the *tree* is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence; which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it. The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpúrí, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád (Ilhábád).

‡ This accords with the original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error.

§ Perhaps the island of Karan-Tírat, now abbreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápúr.

‖ M. Reinaud reads *Oubarhar*. Perhaps Behár is meant, though the direction is too easterly. It is to be observed, however, of Al Bírúní's bearings, that they are generally much more incorrect than his distances, as may be seen by comparing the relative position of

bisk,* on the borders of the sea, 50;—thence you go to Sam, on the shore of the sea, towards the east. The first of its provinces is Dúr† and it adjoins Jún, 40;—to Ránjí, 30;—to Malea, 40;—to Núnah, 30;—which is the remotest point.

If you go from Bárí to the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodhya, at the distance of 25 farsangs;—thence to the great Benares, 20. In taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of 35 farsangs, to Sarwára;‡—thence to Patalipúra, 20;—thence to Mungírí, 15; thence to Champa, 30;—thence Dúkanpúr, 50;—thence to the confluence at Gangá Ságar, 30.

In going from Canauj to the east you come to Málí§ Bárí, at the distance of 10 farsangs;—thence to Dúkam, 45;—thence to Silhet,‖ 10;—thence to Bhet, 12;—thence you go to Tilút,

any two places, of which the identification, is unquestionable,—as between Dhar and U'jain. He makes the former lie due east from the latter, whereas in reality it is even more than north-east. Vidárbhá, or Berár, may possibly be meant, in which case there would be no correction on account of the bearing.

* M. Reinaud reads Ourdabysehan. Perhaps Urya Des, Odra Des, or Orissa, is meant. See Lassen, *Ind: Alterthumskunde*, I. 186.

† This is very obscure. M. Reinaud translates it thus: en suivant les bords de la mer et en se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles confinent maintenant les états du roi Djour; la première de ces provinces est Dravida.

‡ This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, "the other side of the Sarjú." So Páradas is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live *beyond* the Indus, just as *τὰ πέρα* is used in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Plutarch (*Camillus*, C. 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* "the other side of the river."

§ This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new Capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bárí means "a garden," and Málí, "a gardener," the words are frequently coupled together. The following lines, for instance, in which the two names occur in conjunction, is a common charm for the bite of a wasp:—

वर्र वर्र तू क्यों वर्रानीं।
तेरा काटा खन्न न पानीं।
तू गई मालो की बारी।
हमने यहां झारि उतारी।

‖ This may be the Silhet Sháhjehánpúr of the Gorakhpúr district, near the Gandak. In that case, Bhet would correspond with Bettiah, and Tilút with Tirhút. It can scarcely be made to apply to Bhotán, as M. Reinaud conjectures.

where the men are black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. They extend to the mountains of Merú.

From Nipál to Bhatesar* is 30 days' journey, which implies a distance of about 80 farsangs. The road has a hundred ascents and descents. On account of the difficulty of carrying burdens on the shoulders, bridges are built in several places. The rivers in those hills are a hundred yards below the bridge. They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhatesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet. There the language, costume, and appearance of men are entirely different. Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of 20 farsangs. From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Canauj, in travelling south-east, you come to Jajháotí, at a distance of 30 farsangs, of which the capital is Kajráha.† In that country are the two forts, of Gwáliár and Kálinjar.‡ Thence to Dhál, of which the capital is Bitúri, under a chief called Kankyú, is 20 farsangs. Thence to Ílsúr;—thence to Bhawás, on the shore of the sea.

From Canauj, in travelling south-west, you come to Ásí,§ at

* M. Reinaud reads Yhoutyscher; the same reading occurs at p. 40.

† This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols." (p. 162.) Its real name is Kajráí, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The Kingdom of which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-chi-to of the Chinese travellers.

The ruined temples at Kajráíare of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamotí, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had committed a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's own foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamoti was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares. The ruins of Kajráí are now undergoing examination.

‡ There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older than A.D. 1205. Birúni's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite. (See *Journal A. S. B.* No. 188. p. 172.)

§ M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi*. If Hansi of Hariána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction. The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asní, are on the banks of the Ganges. It is mentioned in the Táríkh-i Yemíní, and is the place to which the Rájá of Canauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghorian General, Kutbu-d-dín Eibek.

the distance of 18 farsangs;—to Sahína, 17;—to Chandra,* 18;—to Rajaurí, 15;—to Naraya, 20. This was the capital of Guzerát, till it was destroyed, and the inhabitants removed to a new town. The distance between Naraya and Mathura is the same as between Mathura and Canauj, that is 28 farsangs.

In going from Mathura to Ujain, you pass through several towns, and at no greater distance from one another than 5 farsangs. From Mathura, at the distance of 35 farsangs, you come to a large town called Dúdhí;—thence to Bafhúr, 7;—thence to Mahabhalesán, 5. This is the name of the idol of that place. Thence to Ujain 9, the idol of which place is Máhákál. Thence to Dhár, 6 farsangs.

South from Niraya lies Mewár, which has the lofty fortress of Chitore.† From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Málwá, 20. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of 9 farsangs. From Ujain to Mahabhalesán,‡ which is in Málwá, 10. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahrmahra,§ at the distance of 20 farsangs;—thence to Kundkí, 20;—thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda, 10;—thence to Biswar, 20;—thence to Mundgir,‖ on the banks of the Godavery, 60 farsangs.

From Dhár to the river (Nerbadda), 9;—thence to the country of the Mahrattas, 18;—thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, 25 farsangs.

* This is evidently meant for Chanderí.

† This would appear to be the correct reading. M. Reinaud translates: "Mycar est le nom d'un royaume oú se trouve la fortresse de Djatraour."

‡ Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at U'degir, Sacheh, Káneh Kherí, and Piplea Bijolí. There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Ebain, U'dípúr, Pathárí, anciently called Bírnagar, Gheárispúr and Bhojpúr. These are all likely to be examined, now that such a zealous enquirer as Capt. J. Cunningham is in that country.

§ This may have some connection with the Matmayurpúr, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as "repopulating this long desolate city." *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. 183, p. 1086.

‖ Gildemeister says of this place, "urbs prorsus incognita." (*De reb. Ind.* p. 44.) It has been supposed to be Munghír. It is not improbable that Múngí Patan may be meant, the capital of the famous Sálivábana, and the Mankir of the Arabians, which is described as the capital of the Ballahra. Masaúdí says, his dominions were chiefly mountainous, and that they were eighty Sindi farsangs, of eight miles each, from the sea. The Arab travellers of Renaudot say he was the most mighty potentate of India; that his dominions began at Konkan and extended to the confines of China; that he was constantly at war with his neighbours, one of whom is the King of Haraz, by which probably Orissa is meant.

Edrísí tells us that the capital of the Ballahra was in his time Nahrwála.

(Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called Karkadan in the original, and appears to be the same as the καρτάζωνον of Ælian, *Hist. An.* XVI. 20, 21.)

From Niraya, in a south-west direction, lies Anhalwára, at a distance of 60 farsangs;—thence to Súmnát, on the sea, 50. From Anhalwára, towards the south, to Lárdes,* of which the capitals are Bahrúj and Dhanjúr, 42. These are on the shore of the sea, to the east of Tána.

West from Niraya† is Múltán, at the distance of 50 farsangs;—thence to Bhátí, 15. South-west from Bhátí is Arúr, at a distance of 15 farsangs. This city is situated between two arms of the Indus. Thence to Bahmanwás Mansúra, 20;—thence to Lohárání, the embouchure of the river, 30 farsangs.

From Canauj, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to Sirsáwah, 50 farsangs. Thence to Pinjore. That place is on a lofty hill,‡ and opposite to it, in the plains, is the

Possibly Mankír may be the Minnagara of Ptolemy, but the position of that town must have been too far west to answer to the capital of the Ballahra. Ibn Al Wárdí speaks of it as if it was extant when he wrote. See a note below, on the position of Minnagara.

* See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f. d. K. d. Morgenl:* I. 227.

† This is the nearest resemblance to the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh. M. Reinaud reads it Bazána. It is one of the most interesting places in the North Western Provinces to identify in the pages of Bírúní, on account of its being so frequently mentioned as a terminus of the Itineraries. It appears to be Narwar, notwithstanding that the Niraya which occurs first in the Extract must evidently be Anhalwára, the capital of Guzerát. In this passage, he states Niraya to be "the capital of Guzerát, which our countrymen," he adds, "call Narayana." M. Reinaud says that the manuscript in some places should be read Narana, not Bazana. Bírúní makes this Bazána to be 88 parasangs south-west from Canauj, which approximates to the real distance of about 550 miles. It is reached through the Así mentioned above, 18 parasangs;—then Sahína, 17 parasangs;—then Chanderí, 18 parasangs;—then Rajaurí (probably Rájwára or Rájgarh) 15 parasangs;—then Bazána, the capital of Guzerát, 20 parasangs.

If we omit this Bazána, we shall find that, whenever it is again mentioned, Narwar satisfies all the requisite conditions. The distance between Mathura and Bazána is the same distance as Mathura from Canauj—so is Narwar. It is 25 parasangs from Mycar (Mewar);—so is Narwar. In a south-west direction to Anhalwára it is 60 parasangs—so is Narwar. Here it is made quite a different place from the capital of Guzerát. It is 50 parasangs west of Múltán. If we take the town of Múltán, the distance is too short; but if the borders of the kingdom of Múltán are meant, it will answer very well, and would also fix Bhátí to be the same as Bhatnír, which has some probability in its favor.

‡ This is not correct with reference to modern Pinjore, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills.

city Thanesar;—thence to Dahmála,* the capital of Jálandhar, and at the base of a mountain, 18; thence to Láwar, 10;—thence, towards the west, to Sidda, 13;—thence to the fort of Rájgarhí, 8;—thence, towards the north, to Cáshmír, 25 farsangs.

From Canauj, towards the west, to Dyamau, is 10 farsangs;—thence to Gahí,† 10;—thence to Ahár, 10;—thence to Mírat, 10;—thence, across the Jumna, to Páníput, 10;—thence to Kaithal, 10;—thence to Sonám, 10.

In going north-west from the latter place to Arthúr, 9 farsangs;—thence to Hajnír, 6;—thence to Mandhúkúr, the capital of Loháwar, on the east of the river Iráwa, 8;—thence to the river Chandraha (Chenab,) 12;—thence to Jailam, on the western bank of the Behat, 18;—thence to Warhand, capital of Candahár, west of the Sind, which the Moghuls call Kárájang, 20; thence to Persháwar, 14;—thence to Dínúr, 15;—thence to Cábul, 12;—thence to Ghaznín, 17.

Cáshmír‡ is a valley surrounded by lofty inaccessible hills and broad deserts; on the east and south it is bordered by Hind;—on the west by kings, of whom the nearest are Bilor Sháh, Shaknán Sháh, and Dúkhán Sháh, extending to the frontiers of Badakhshán; on the north, and partly on the east, by the Turks of Chín and Tibet.

From the mountain of Yutíshar to Cáshmír, across the country of Tibet, is nearly 300 farsangs. The people of Cáshmír do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katút, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the entrances and passes of the country. They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindús, how then can any one else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Barbhán, half way between the Sind and Jailam. From that place to the bridge, which is constructed at the confluence of the Kosarí and Mamherí, flowing from the

* This is doubtless Dehmárí, which, as we learn from several historians, was the ancient name of Núrpúr, before it was changed by Jehángír, in honor of Núr Jehán Begam. Núrpúr is beyond the Beás; but that would not affect the identification, for the author says merely Jálandhar, not the Doáb, or Interamnia, of Jálandhar.

† The Arabic has Gatí.—Perhaps Ráj Ghát may be meant. All the other places mentioned in this paragraph are extant to this day.

‡ Mention of Cáshmír occurs in another part of the work, which contains little that is not noticed here. The author adds that in Cáshmír there is a city called Dárabarka, in which there are 3,600,000 inhabitants, and that it was built 2,000 years ago. That the valley was formerly twelve hundred years under water; when, at the entreaties of Casip, the waters found their way to the sea, and the valley became habitable.

mountains of Sílák, with the Jailam, is 8 farsangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dwárul Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam, dividing into two streams, enters the plains, and after two days' journey, unites again and reaches Adushán,* the capital of Cáshmír. The city of Cáshmír is four farsangs from Adushán. It is built on the banks of the Jailam, on which there are several bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is the mountain of Harmakat,† which is also the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts. On the other side of it lies Máhá Chín, i. e., great Chin. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adushán in two days. Four farsangs from that, it reaches a lake, a farsang square, on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkar.

The Sind rises in the mountains of Umah, on the borders of the Turkish country. Passing by the mountains of Bilúr and Hamílán, it reaches in two days' journey the country of the Bhotyawárí Turks, from whose encroachments the Cáshmírians suffer great distress. Whoever travels along the left bank of the river will find villages and towns close to one another as far as the mountain Lárjík, which resembles Damávend, between which and Cáshmír there is a distance of two farsangs. It can always be seen from the boundary of Cáshmír and Laháwar. The fort of Rájgarhí is to the south of it, and Lohúr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west. At a distance of 3 farsangs is Rájáwarí, where merchants carry on much traffic, and it forms one of the boundaries of Hind on the north. On the hills to the west of it is the tribe of Afghans, who extend to the land of Sind.

On the south of that tribe is the sea, on the shore of which the first city is Tez, the capital of Mekrán. The coast trends to the south-east, till it reaches Daibal, at the distance of forty farsangs. Between these two cities lies the gulf of Túrán.

* * * * * * * *

After traversing the gulph you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawárij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Bairah. Their cities are Kach and Súmnát. From Dai-

* M. Reinaud reads Addashtan, and Capt. A. Cunningham identifies it with Pandritan, the local corrupt form of Puránadhisthana, the "old chief city." *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* No. CLXXXVII. p. 97.

† M. Reinaud has Hazmakout. Har Makut, meaning the cap of Har, or Mahá Deo, is a better reading. Perhaps Hemakúta is the correct one. See Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.

bal to Tálíshar is 50 farsangs;—from Lahráni, 12;—to Bakah, 12;—to Kach, the country producing gum, and Bárdrúd (river Bhader,) 6;—to Súmnát, 14;—to Cambaya, 30;—to Asáwal, 2;—to Bahrúj, 30;—to Sindán,* 50;—to Súfára, 6;—to Tána, 5. There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Saimúr,† then Maleah,—then Kanjí—then Darúd, where there is a great gulph in which is the island of Sarandíp or Sankaldíp. In its neighbourhood is Tanjáwar, which is in ruins, and the king of that country has built another city near the shore, called Díárbas;—then to Umalna;—then to Rameshar, opposite to Sarandíp, from which it is distant 12 farsangs. From Tanjáwar to Rameshar is 40 farsangs;—from Rameshar to Set Bandháí, which means the bridge of the sea, is 2 farsangs—and that Band, or embankment, was made by Rám, son of Dasrath, as a passage to the fort of Lanká. It consists of detached rocks separated by the sea.

From that place, in an eastern direction, lies Khankand, which is the mountain of monkeys.‡

* * * * * * *

(Here follows an account of these monkeys, of some of the eastern islands, and of the rainy season.)

* * * * *

Múltán§ and Uch are subject to Dehli, and the son of the Súltán of Dehli is the governor. There is a road by land as well as by the shore of the sea and by Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Cambaya, Súmnát, Kankan, Tána and several other cities and towns. It is said that Guzerát comprises 80,000 different districts, cities, villages, and hamlets. The inhabitants are rich and happy, and during the four seasons no less than seventy flowers blow in this country. The crops which grow in the cold season derive their vigour from the dew. When that dries, the hot season commences, and that is succeeded by the rainy season. Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such, that if you were to place a cotton plant on a plane-tree it would throw out its roots, and

* See Gildemeister, *De reb. Ind.* p. 46.

† The original bears more resemblance to Jaimúr, but Saimúr appears to be the place intended. It is noticed by Masaúdí. Ibn Haukal says, it is about 15 parasangs from Sarandíp. Zakaríya Cazvíní says, it is an Indian city near Sind, where Moslems, Christians, Jews and Fire-worshippers, reside. Bakouí tells us:—"There is here a temple called Beit Saimúr, on the summit of a hill, in which is an idol made of precious stones. There are also mosques, churches, and fire-temples in this place. The Indians eat neither the animals of the land nor of the sea." *Notices et Extr.* Tom. II. p. 414.

‡ This appears to be the Kanhar of Dr. Lee, and its description as being a mountain of monkeys shows that his conjectures about the estuary of Búzúta is correct. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 187.

§ Rashídu-d-Dín here evidently leaves Abú Ríhán, and writes from information obtained independently.

yield produce ten years running.* The people are idolaters, and have a king of their own. Súmnát, which is the name of the idol of that place, is worshipped by all the people of those parts, and strangers come to it from a great distance and present their offerings. During the last stage they move along the ground on their breasts, and approach the idol bowing their heads. There is a great deal of traffic on the shores of Guzerát. Beyond Guzerát are Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malíbár, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam,† is 300 farsangs in length. The whole country produces the pán, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth upon that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other country. Part of the territory is inland, and part on the sea shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khábálik, in the direction of Rúm, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all Samanís (Buddhists). The first city on the shore is Sindapúr—then Fágnúr—then Manjarúr‡—then the country of Hílí—then the country of Tadarsá—then Janglí—then Kúlam. The men of all these countries are Samanís. After these comes the country of Sawálak, which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Málwá, which means 1,000,000, and 893,000 villages have actually been counted in it. About forty years ago the king of Málwá died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several battles they ended with dividing the territory between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing, and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off merchandise, crops, and captives.§

* Ibn Batúta uses a similar image to express the fertility of Molúk: "It is an island exceedingly rich in vegetation and soil, so that when you cut a branch from any of its trees, and plant it either on the road or on a wall, it will grow, throw out leaves, and become a tree." p. 182.

† "We next came into the country of Malabár, which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from the island of Sindábár to Kalam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be moslems or infidels." *Ibn Batuta*, p. 166.

‡ Dr. Lee reads these, Kákanwar and Manjarún. For Janglí he appears to read Jurhaunan. (*Ibn Batuta*, p. 170.) Manjarúr is the Mangalore of the present day and the Μαγγαρουθ of Cosmas Indicopleustes. (*Topograph. Chr.* p. 337.) Casiri quotes a manuscript in which it is called Mangalore as early as the beginning of the seventh century. See *Biblioth. Escurial.* Tom. II. p. 6.

§ It is difficult to say what countries are here meant, but it is probable that allusion is made to the Lackadives and Maldives, the names

Maabar, from Kúlam to the country of Siláwar, extends 300 farsangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called Dewar,* which means in the Maabar language, the "lord of wealth." Large ships called Junks bring merchandise from Chín and Máchín. The country produces rubies and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. Maabar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sindar Ledí was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takí Ullah bin Abdu-r-rahmán bin Muhammed et-Tíbí, brother of Shaikh Jamálu-d-dín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Malí Fatan, and Báwal—and because there are no horses in Maabar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamálu-d-dín Ibráhím should send to the Dewar 1400 Arab horses obtained from the island of Kais, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fars, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Harmuz, Malkát, &c. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dínárs of red gold current.

* * * * *

In the year 692 H. the Dewar died, and Sheikh Jamálu-d-dín who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock-loads of jewels and gold, and Takíu-d-dín, according to previous agreement, became his Lieutenant. Notwithstanding his immense wealth, he established a rule that he should have the first option of purchasing all imports, and after he had gratified his own choice he allowed his subjects to purchase, in order that they might export the goods on boats or beasts of burden to the countries of the east and west, whence they might bring back merchandise suitable to Maabar.

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.

* * * * *

There are two courses, or roads, from this place;—one leads to Chín and Máchín. Sarandíp is first met with. It is four farsangs long and four wide.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the southern† mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Sankala-díp, i. e. the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,‡ and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Emeralds and other precious stones are found there.

being derived from numerals, and in both instances bearing a relation to these islands.

* Abú-l-fedá gives it as Bírdáwal.

† It is Júdí in the original, not Janúbí. The former can scarcely be meant, the latter may. ‡ Lassen, *Ind: Alterth*: I. 201.

In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The island of Lámúrí,* which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmátra,† and beyond that Darband Nias,‡ which is a dependency of Jáwa. In Jáwa scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Parlak, Dalmián, Jáwa, and Barcúdoz.§ The mountains of Jáwa are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Lámúrí is the island of Láhwár,‖ which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Kaan.

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Kaan. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Haitam, subject also to the Kaan.

* According to the Shajrat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Súmátra, situated on the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramnad (*Script. Ar. d. re. Ind:* p. 59). M. Reinaud considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123); M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Súmátra (*Jour. Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII. 187, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúrí of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

† This is distinctly called a country (vilayat). It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Súmátra by the name of Jáva, and that Súmátra was one of its towns. Jáva itself was called Múl Jáva. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX. pp. 119, 124, 244.

‡ This may be Pulu Nias, which M. M. Maury and Dulaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Ser. Tom. VIII. 200, and *Bulletin de la société de Geog.* April, 1846.

§ These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlah is no doubt Tanjung Parlah, or Diamond Point, on the north-east coast of Súmátra. Barcúdoz, without any violent metathesis, may perhaps be read Bencoolen—the Wau-Kou-Leou of the Chinese. (*Nouv. J. A.* XI. 54.) Towards Papua is a large island called Arú, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Java according to Ptolemy—ἔχειν τε μετρόπολιν ὄνομα Αργυρῆν ἔπι τοῖς δυσμικοῖς πέρασιν. *Geog:* VII. 2. 29.

‖ As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Edrísí seem to designate this group by the term Lanjabálús.

Beyond that is Máhá Chín,* then the land of Zaitún,† on the shore of the China sea, and an officer of the Kaan, entitled Shak, resides there. Beyond that is Khinsa, in which the market place is six farsangs broad—from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Kaan, who are Moghuls, Musulmáns, Khitayans and Ghúz. Khinsa‡ is the capital.

Forty days' journey from it lies Khánbáligh,§ the capital of Anká Múghrib Kaan, King of the earth.‖

With respect to the other road which leads from Maabar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Cábal, then proceeds to the city of Gosjú and Sabjú, dependencies of Cábal,—then to Tamli Fatan,—then to Karora Mawár,—then to Hawárawún, then to Daklí,—then to Bijalár, which from of old is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Katban—then Uman,—then Zardandán,¶ so called because the people have gold in their teeth. They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Kaan. Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

* Edrísí calls this Síniatu-s-Sín, situated at the extremity of the empire. "No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." Ibn al Wárdí says, "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean."

† A port in the province of Fo-Kein. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 561. M. Klaproth, *Mem. rel: à l'Asie.* Tom: II. p. 208, and M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom: II. pp. 25, 26.

‡ The original is Jangsáí in both places, but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khinsa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen. Marco Polo calls it Quinsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world. It was the capital of southern China, or Máhá Chín. Its present name is Hang-tcheou-fou, capital of the province of Tche-Kiang. See M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom. I. pp. CX, CXVIII. and M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. LXXVII. LXXXIX.

§ The Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese. See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. III. p. 2. p. 512.

‖ See *Les Oisqaux et les Fleurs*, pp. 119, 220. Dabistán, v. III. p. 250.

¶ This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon. M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. *Hist. des Mongols*, p. XCVI.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining Maabar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of Maabar. Its capital is Dwára Samudra.

Another large country is called Candahár, which the Moghuls call Karájáng. In the time of Kubilá Kaan,* it was subdued by the Moghuls. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities; Hind is celebrated for its armies, Candahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their wealth in horses.

The Volume from which these extracts are taken opens with these words:—

سپاس و ستایش خدای را جل جلاله و تقدست اسماوه که موصوف است ذات او ببقا و قدم و منزه است صفات او از نقص حدوث و عدم موحد خانه که سقف و عرش ان افلاك است و صانع ایوانی که فرش آن بساط خاك انخداوندی که نیست و هست و پشت و پست ایجاد وضع قدرت اوست

and closes thus:—

انچه در بطلان مذهب اهل تناسخ درخاطر آمد بسبب حکایت که درو ایراد افتاده مطول کشته است هرچند هیچ یک از فواید و عواید خالي نیست انشاالله پسندیده حق تعالی باشد و بینند گان بر زلل و سهو و خلل و خطا که رفته عفو و مغفرت کرامت کنند بمن الله واسعة جوده وکرمه

* This is also mentioned in the Mongul work called Bodimer. See Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T. I. p. 19.

The country of Karájáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. XCIV.

At p. 40 this name, differently accented, is ascribed to the Sind, in conformity with the original; but from this passage it is evident that Candahár, not the Sind, was called Karájáng.

Note A.

India, as known to the Arabs during the first four Centuries of the Hijrí Era.

The first extracts are taken from the *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine*, translated from the Arabic by M. Renaudot, A. D. 1718. The Jesuits endeavoured to throw discredit upon this work, and declared that it was a fiction of the translator. This assertion gained considerable credit, when it was ascertained that the original manuscript, from which M. Renaudot was said to have translated his work, was nowhere to be found. It was at last fortunately discovered by M. de Guignes, who has bestowed an article upon it in the *Notices et Extracts*, Tom. I. 156—161. See also *Mém: de l'Acad: des Inscriptions*, Tom. XXXVII. 477.

An edition of the Arabic and a new French translation was given by M. Langlés in the beginning of the present century, but his translation is little known. In 1845, M. Reinaud published the Arabic text of M. Langlés, with a new translation and valuable notes. He tells us that the first part of the work comprises the statement of a voyager named Sulaimán, whose "relations" were taken down A. D. 851, and that the second part was completed

towards the close of the century by Abú Zaid, of Siráf, from verbal information and from reading, and that he had communication with Mas'údí, whom M. Quatremère at one time considered to be the Editor of these Relations. (See *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XXXIII. p. 234; *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom. VIII. p. 161, and M. Reinaud, *Discours préliminaire*, pp. II.—XXVIII.)

Some particulars relating to the Indies and to the kings of the same countries.

Both the Indians and Chinese agree, that there are four great or principal kings in the world; they allow the king of the Arabs to be the first, and to be, without dispute, the most powerful of kings, the most wealthy, and the most excellent every way; because he is the prince and head of a great religion, and because no other surpasses him in greatness or power.

The emperor of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs, and after him the king of the Greeks; and lastly, the Balhara.

* * * * *

He is surrounded by the dominions of many kings, who are at war with him, and yet he never marches against them. One of these is king of Haraz, who has very numerous forces, and is stronger in horse than all the other princes of the Indies, but is an enemy to the Arabs, though he at the same time confesses their king to be the greatest of kings; nor is there a prince in the Indies who has a greater aversion to Muhammedanism. His dominions are upon a promontory, where are much riches, many camels, and other cattle. The inhabitants here traffic with silver they wash for; and they say there are mines of the same on the continent. There is no talk of robbers in this country, no more than in the rest of the Indies.

On one side of this kingdom lies that of Tafek, which is not of very great extent; this king has the finest white women in all the Indies; but he is subject to the kings about him, his army being but small. He has a great affection for the Arabs, as well as the Balhara.

These kingdoms border upon the lands of a king called Rahmi, who is at war with the king of Haraz, and with the Balhara also. This prince is not much considered either for his birth or the antiquity of his kingdom; but his forces are more numerous than those of the Balhara and even than those of the kings of

Haraz and Tafek. They say that when he takes the field, he appears at the head of fifty thousand elephants; and that he commonly marches in the winter season, because the elephants not being able to bear with thirst, he can move at no other time. They say also that in his army there are commonly from ten to fifteen thousand tents. In this same country they make cotton garments, in so extraordinary a manner, that no where else are like to be seen. These garments are for the most part round, and wove to that degree of fineness, that they may be drawn through a ring of a middling size.

Shells are current in this country, and serve for small money, notwithstanding that they have gold and silver, wood-aloes and sable-skins of which they make the furniture of saddles and housings. In this same country is the famous Karkandan or unicorn, which has but one horn upon its forehead, and thereon a round spot with the representation of a man. The whole horn is black, except the spot in the middle, which is white. The unicorn is much smaller than the elephant; from the neck downwards he pretty much resembles the buffalo; for strength he is extraordinary, therein surpassing all other creatures; his hoof is not cloven, and from his foot to his shoulder he is all of a piece. The elephant flies from the unicorn, whose lowing is like that of an ox, with something of the cry of a camel. His flesh is not forbidden, and we have eaten of it. There are great numbers of this creature in the fens of this kingdom, as also in all the other provinces of the Indies; but the horns of these are the most esteemed, and upon them are generally seen the figures of men, peacocks, fishes and other resemblances. The Chinese adorn their girdles with these sorts of figures; so that some of these girdles are worth two or three thousand pieces of gold in China, and sometimes more, the price augmenting with the beauty of the figure. All the things we have here enumerated, are to be purchased in the kingdom of Rahmi for shells, which are the current money.

After this kingdom there is another which is an inland state, distant from the coast, and called Kaschbin. The inhabitants are white, and bore their ears: they have camels, and their country is a desert, and full of mountains.

Farther on, upon the coast, there is a small kingdom called Hitrange, which is very poor; but it has a bay, where the sea throws up great lumps of ambergris. They have also elephants' teeth and pepper; but the inhabitants eat it green, because of the smallness of the quantity they gather.

* * * * *

The island of Sarandip is the last of the islands of the Indies. When they burn a king it is usual for his wives to jump into the fire, and to burn with him, but this they are not constrained to do if they are not willing.

In the Indies there are men who profess to live in the woods and mountains, and to despise what other men most value. These abstain from every thing but such wild herbs and fruits as spring forth in the woods. I formerly saw one in the posture I have described, and returning to the Indies about sixteen years afterwards, I found him in the very same attitude, and was astonished he had not lost his eyesight by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the sovereign power resides in the royal family, and never departs from it; and those of this family succeed each other. In like manner there are families of learned men, of physicians, and of all the artificers concerned in architecture, and none of these ever mix with a family of a profession different from their own.

The several states of the Indies are not subject to one and the same king, but each province has its own king; nevertheless the Balhara is, in the Indies, as king of kings.

* * * * *

We will now begin to speak of the province of Zapage, which is opposite to China, and a month's sail distant therefrom by sea, or less, if the wind be fair. The king of this country is called Mehrage, and they say it is nine hundred leagues in circumference, and that this king is master of many islands which lie round about; thus this kingdom is above a thousand leagues in extent. Among these islands there is one called Serbeza, which is said to be four hundred leagues in circuit, and that also of Rahmi, which is eight hundred leagues in compass, and produces red-wood, camphire, and many other commodities. The Mehrage is sovereign over all these islands, and that which he makes his abode is extremely fertile, and so very populous that the towns almost crowd one upon the other. A person of great probity relates, that when the cocks here crow at their accustomed hours, just as with us, at roost upon trees, they answer each other a hundred leagues around and more, because of the proximity of the villages which almost touch each other.

* * * * *

Next in order is Ibn Khordádbeh, who died about A. D. 912, and from whose work the following extract is translated. M. M. Uylenbroeck, Hamaker, and Wüstenfeld consider that Ibn Khordádbeh, is the real author of the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, and ascribed by him to

Ibn Haukal, but the extract given below does not correspond with the "Oriental Geography." M. Uylenbroeck has also entered into a long argument to prove that Ibn Khordádbeh is the same as Abú-l-Kásim Istakhrí, who composed his work between A. D. 900 and 925. But this opinion is by no means concurred in by M. M. Frähn and Gildemeister. It is probable that this doubtful point has been finally set at rest by the Editor of Istakhrí's work, which has lately been translated by Dr. Mordtmann, as well as edited in original by Dr. Möller, neither of which I have had an opportunity of seeing. M. Gildemeister considers there can be no question that Istakhrí was the author of the work translated by Ouseley, but denies his identity with Ibn Khordádbeh. (Compare De Sacy, *Magas: Encyclopéd:* Tom. VI. Wüstenfeld, *Abulfeda, Tab: Geogr.* p. 75. Uylenbroeck, *Iracæ Persicæ Descr:* pp. 9, 57—63, 72. Frähn, *Ibn Foszlan ueber die Russen,* pp. xxii. 257. Gildemeister, *Script: Arab. de reb: Indic:* pp. 76, 124. *Jahresbericht der Deutschen Morgenländ: Ges: für* 1846, p. 78. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bibliothe: Bodl: Codd: MSS. Or: Catal:* p. 534.)

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, except at Kamár, the inhabitants of which hold both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The people of Sarandíp convey wine from Irák for consumption in their own country.

The kings of Hind take great delight in having elephants of lofty stature, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about 9 cubits high, except those of Atab, which are 10 and 11 cubits.

The greatest king of India is Balharâ, whose name imports "king of kings." He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence: "Whoever values you merely for your good offices, remains no longer your friend when his wishes are gratified."

The next eminent king is he of Taffa; the third is king of Jábba; the fourth, that of Hazar; the coins of Tartary are in use in his dominions. The fifth is king of Abba; the sixth, that of Rahmí, and between him and the other kings, a communication is kept up by sea. It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand elephants; that his apparel is of manufactured cotton cloths; and that his country produces an odoriferous wood called "Aggar." The seventh is the king of Kamrún, which is contiguous to China. There is plenty of gold in this country.

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia.

The island of Khárak lies fifty parasangs from Ibla, and has cultivated lands, trees, and vines. The island of Lábin is at the distance of eighty parasangs from that of Khárak, and has cultivated lands and trees. This parasang is equal to two parasangs of the usual measure. From Lábin to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs; it has trees and cultivated fields; and from Abrún to the island of Chín, are seven parasangs, equal to one half of the usual measure. This island is uninhabited. From Chín to the island of Kasír are seven parasangs, equal to four common parasangs. In this island are cultivated lands, trees and the like, and the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality. From Kasír to Abarkáwán are eighteen parasangs, equal to three of the usual measure. The inhabitants are of a fair complexion. From Abarkáwán to Armún are seven parasangs. From Armún to Nármasaira is seven days' journey, and the latter lies between Persia and Sind. From Nármasaira to Daibal is eight days' journey, and from Daibal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs.

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos. From the Mihrán to Bagar, which is reckoned the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains there are cultivated fields. The people are Buddhists and robbers. From this place to Almez are two parasangs, where also robbers are to be met with. From Almez to Cole* are two parasangs, and from

* This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood; if we except the Κωλις of Dionysius (*Perieg*: 1148) which must be looked for in another direction. The *Geographia Nubiensis* also notices this place:—"Ab hac ad insulam Mond sex millia passuum: et ab hac ad Coli passus totidem: et a Coli, secùs littus, ad urbem Labára, quinque fere stationes." p. 60.

Cole to Sindán are eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the ebony and canes. From Sindán to Mallay, is five days' journey; in the latter black pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mallay to Balbun, is two days' journey, and from Balbun to Lujja Azíma, is two days' journey. There are routes by sea from Balbun. If you sail close to the shore it takes you two days to reach Bás, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandíp. From Bás to Sají and Uscán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From Uscán to Kaura is half a parasang, which is more than three of the usual size. From Kaura to Kancán, Malwa and Kanja, is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kamúl and other neighbouring places by the sea route in fifteen days. From Samunder to Urisser are twelve parasangs; this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle and various merchantable commodities. This place is held in much renown. From Urisser to Ainá is four days' journey, where elephants and asses are met with.

[After this follows the description of Pic d' Adam. In another place the author continues his account of India in these words:—]

There are seven classes of Hindús, viz., 1st, Sábkufría, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine, also from the juice of the date and palm tree. 3rd, Kattaría, who drink not more than three cups of wine, and the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahma take their daughters. 4th, Súdúriá, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baísurah, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahúd, their women are fond of adorning themselves with gaudy apparrel, and jewellery, and their men are noted for their unbounded love of amusements and all sorts of diversions.* In Hind there are forty-two religious

* None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes. The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khordádbeh.

	Strabo.	*Diodorus.*	*Arrian.*
1st Class.	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd ,,	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd ,,	Shepherds and hunters	Cowherds and shepherds	Cowherds and shepherds
4th ,,	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants and boatmen
5th ,,	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th ,,	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th ,,	Counsellors and assessors	Counsellors and assessors	Assessors

sects;* part of them believe in a creator and prophet—the blessing of God be upon them!; part deny the mission of a prophet, and part are atheists.

We will now quote the famous Mas'údí, who visited India, Ceylon, and the coast of China, in A. H. 303. The following extracts are from his work entitled, "Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems," of which the first part has been well translated by Dr. A. Sprenger. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language. His travels extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammedan sway. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the West (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the East, and so far to the West (China) that he forgot the West. He died A. D. 956.

India is a vast country, having many seas and mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Zánij, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the King of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India.

The Hindú nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Sind as far as et-Tubbet. But there prevails a great difference of feelings, language, and religion, in these empires; and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj ed-Demádem and others, in point of intellect, govern-

(Vid. *Strab. Geogr:* lib: xv. 703—707. *Arrian: Indica* 11. 12. *Diodor: Sic:* lib: 11. 40, 41. and *Megasthenis Fragmenta.* E. A. Schwanbeck, pp. 42, 121—127.)

It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khordadbeh. The 1st is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Khattrís—the 4th the Súdras—the 5th the Vaisava—the 6th the Chandáls—the 7th the Bázigars and itinerant jugglers.

* This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—"Forty-two religions! and only one sauce!!"

ment, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence.

* * * *

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindú laws, before he is forty years of age, nor appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs; for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

* * * * *

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the Vazier, Kadhí, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed nor altered.

The Hindús abstain from (spirituous) liquors, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if he is given to such habits.

* * * * *

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Mihrán in es-Sind is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "On the leading cities and the wonders of the countries." It is an excellent work, but as he has never made a voyage and few journies and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of es-Sind comes from the well-known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnauj, in the kingdom of Búdah, and of Káshmír el-Kandahár, and et-Takín; the tributaries which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán and from thence the united river receives the name Mihrán. El-Múltán means meadows of gold. The king of el-Múltán is a Koraïshite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawí Ben Ghalib. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán. The lord of the kingdom of el-Mansúrah is a Koraïshite, who is descended from Habbár Ben el-Aswad, who has been one of their kings. The crown of el-Múltán has been hereditary, in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, and nearly from the beginning of the Islám.

From el-Múltán the river Mihrán takes its course to the country of el-Mansúrah, and falls about ed-Daibol into the Indian ocean. In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs, as the estuary of Sindabúr in the kingdom of Bághar, in India; the estuary of ez-Zanj in the dominions of

the Maharáj, and the gulfs of el-A'náb (grapes,) which extend towards the island Serendíb (Ceylon). The crocodiles live particularly in sweet water, and, as we said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, on account of the streams which arise from rain and fall in them.

* * * * *

The king of India is the Ballahrá; the king of Kinnauj, who is one of the kings of es-Sind is Búdah; this is a title general to all kings of el-Kinnauj; at present this city is under the sceptre of the Islám, for it forms a province of el-Múltán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihrán in es-Sind, which is considered by el-Jáhit as the Nile, and by others as the Jaihún of Khorásán. This Búdah, who is the king of el-Kinnauj, is an enemy of the Ballahrá, the king of India. The king of el-Kandahár, who is one of the kings of es-Sind ruling over this country, is called Jahaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Rayíd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrán of es-Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rahbút (Rajbut); another river of the Panjáb is called Hátil, it comes also from the mountains of es-Sind, and runs through the country of er-Rahbút, which is the country of el-Kandahár: the fourth river of the Panjáb comes from the country of Kábúl, and its mountains, which forms the frontier of es-Sind towards Bost, Ghaznah, Nafsh, (?) er-Rokh-khaj, and the country of er-Rawan, which is the frontier of Sijistán. One of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír. The king of Kashmír has the name of er-Ráma, which is a general title for all kings.

* * * * *

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the golden temple, which is the meaning of the name of el-Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above el-Mansúrah, at a place called Dúsháb, into one stream, which proceeds to the town of er-Rúd, which lies on its western bank and belongs to el-Mansúrah, where it receives the name Mihrán. There it is divided into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákirah, which belongs also to one of the districts of el-Mansúrah, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihrán of es-Sind, about two days' journey from the town of ed-Daibol.

El-Múltán is seventy-five Sindian farsangs from el-Mansúrah. Each farsang has eight miles, as stated above. All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. They are at constant war with a nation called the Mind, who are a race of the Sind, and with other nations on the frontiers of es-Sind. El-Múltán is equally on the frontier of es-Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. El-Mansúrah has its name from Mansúr

Ben Jambúr, governor of the Omaiyides. The king of el-Mansúrah has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked; and these elephants can oppose thousands of horses.

* * * * *

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of es-Sind and India. The language of es-Sind is different from that of India. Es-Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslems, and India that which is farther from them. The inhabitants of el-Mánkír, which is the residence of the Ballahrá, speak the Kiriyah language, which has this name from the places where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saïmúr (?) Súbárah, Tánah, and other towns on the coast of the Ládiwá sea, a language is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Ládiwá sea, which has been described above. On this coast are many rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile, of Egypt, and the Mihrán, of es-Sind.

* * * * *

Next to the country of Ballahrá is the kingdom of et-Tákin. The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslems; his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahmá, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of the Khazars; and, on one side, on those of el-Ballahrá, with whom he is frequently at war. Rahmá has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Ballahrá, the king of el-Khazar and of et-Tákín. When he takes the field, he has no less than five thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because the elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated; some believe that the number of fullers and washers in his camp, is from ten to fifteen thousand.

The following extract is from the "Oriental Geography," translated by Sir W. Ouseley, the author of which, though proved to be neither Ibn Khordádbeh, nor Ibn Haukal, is generally acknowledged to have written at the early part of the 10th Century of the Christian Era, and is now by almost common consent considered to be Istakhrí.

* * * * *

Besmeid is a small town. Besmeid, and Moultan, and Chendvar, are situated on the eastern side of the river of Moultan, each at the distance of one farsang from the bank of the river. The water used in these towns is well water.

Daubul is situated on the eastern side of the river Mihran, on the sea coast; it is the port of this country. In the cultivation of their lands, the inhabitants do not use water. It is a barren place; but people dwell there for the convenience of transacting mercantile business.

Bileroun is a town between Daubul and Mansoureh, on the west of the river Mihran; and Beherje, and Mesouai, and Sedousan, and Hedlech, are situated on the western side of the river Mihran. Andi and Daloui are both on the eastern side of it, at a distance from the river, in going from Mansoureh to Moultan.

Baloui is situated on the banks of the river Mihran, near a bay, formed by that river behind Mansoureh. Famhel is a town on the first borders of Hindoostan.

Manah is a small town, built by Abdalaziz Hebareh, the ancestor of that race which took Mansourah.

Nedeheh is a tract of flat land between Touran, and Mekran, and Moultan, and the towns of Mansoureh. This territory lies on the west of the river Mihran. It is a place remarkable for camels. The chief town of this district is a place of much commerce; it is called Kandabil. The men of this town resemble those of the desert; they have houses constructed of reeds, along the banks of the river Mihran, as far as the borders of Moultan, and to the sea side; and between Mihran and Famhel they have pasture lands and meadows. They are a numerous tribe. Famhel, and Sedousan, and Meimoun, and Keviabeh; all four have mosques, in which the religious ceremonies of Islam are publicly performed: there are great quantities of the Indian wall-nut, and of the fruit called Mouz, with various kinds of herbs, and much honey.

Rahouk and Kelwan are two districts between Armaiel and Kair; both these are without water; they abound in cattle.

Touran is a little district, with many small villages and hamlets belonging to it. Ahmed ben Maamr possesses them, and the Khutbah is read in the Khalif's name. The town in which he resides is a considerable place, well supplied with provisions, and abounding in fruits; it is never subject to cold weather. Between Maniah and Fambel there is a desert: also between Fambel and Keniabah.

Tasimoun is a populous district, in which the Mussulmans and Indians are intermixed. In this place the only garment they wear is the azar, or sash round the middle, as the heat renders all others unnecessary: it is also the custom at Moultan. In

the province of Makran they speak the Persian and Makrani languages. The merchants wear the cloak and turban.

Makran is an extensive country, but liable to scarcity and want of provisions. Hosein ben Isa ben Maadan took possession of the district called Mihra, and dwelt in the town of Kair, which is as large as Moultan, and a good barbour; it has many date trees; in the territory of it is a well called the "well of Makran." It is the largest town in Makran.

There is a district called Kherouje, the capital of which is Rasek, and there is a village belonging to it called Herman; these places belong to Zéfer ben Reja, and the Khutbah is read in the name of the Khalif. His territory extends near three merhileh; it affords some hundred of date trees and furnishes Faneid (a kind of sweet paste or candied cakes), to all quarters; its villages border on those of the province of Kirman, at the place called Meskeni.

Resasil and Kanteli are two large towns within two menzils: from Resasil to the sea is half a farsang.

Kandabil is a considerable city situated in the desert. Kirkaran is another large town in the desert.

In the district of Azend the Mussulmáns and infidels are all intermixed. Here they have cattle and gardens. The name of a man who took this place was Naiel (or Nabal), and it is called after him.

Distances of places in Sind.

From Bein to Kebr, five merhileh; from Kebr to Fetrioun, two merhileh; and if one goes from the road of Fetrioun, by the road of Makran, it is the same distance; from Fetrioun to Derek, three merhileh; from that to Asofkah, two merhileh; from that to Med, one merhileh; from Med to Kesr, one merhileh; from Kebr to Armaiel, six merhileh; from Mansoureh to Touran, fifteen merhileh; from Kesdan to Moultan, twenty merhileh. Kesdan is the chief town of Touran. From Mansoureh to the borders of Nedeheh, five merbileh; and from Kebr, which is the residence of Isa ben Maadan, to Nedeheh, ten merhileh; from Nedeheh to Bein, fifteen merhileh; from Bein to Kesdan, twelve merhileh; from Nedeheh of Moultan, to the extremity of the borders of Tetar, which they call Bales, ten merhileh; and when one goes from Mansoureh towards Nedeheh, to Sedousan, the way is by the bank of the river Mihran. From Kandabil to Mesbah, in the territory of Bein, four merhileh; from Kesdan to Kandabil, five farsang; from Kandabil to Mansoureh, about eight merhileh; and from Kandabil to Moultan, ten merhileh of desert; from Mansoureh to Famhel, twenty merhileh; from Famhel to Keniabah four merhileh.

Sourbah is near the sea; from Suidan to Sourbah, is five merhileh; from Moultan to Besmeid, two merhileh; from Besmeid

to Rud (or the river), three merhileh; from that to Aberi, four merhileh; from Aberi to Feldi, four merhileh; from Feldi to Mansoureh, one merhileh; from Daubul to Pirouz, four merhileh; from Pirouz to Mehaberi, two merhileh; from Faloni to Beldon, four farsang.

Of the Rivers in this country.

Of the Mihran it is said that the source is the river Jihoun; it comes out at Moultan, and passes on to the borders of Besmeid, and by Mansourah, and falls into the sea on the east of Daubul. The waters of the river Mihran are pleasant and wholesome; and they say it is liable to tides, or flux and reflux, like the Nile, and that it is infested by crocodiles. The Sind Rud, at three merhileh from Moultan, is of pleasant water, and joins the river Mihran. Water is very scarce throughout the land of Makran; there is some near Mansoureh, Many of the inhabitants of Makran resemble the Arabs; they eat fowl and fish: others of them are like the Curds. Here is the extreme boundary of the land of Islam in this direction.

In one of the Royal Libraries of Lucnow there is a very old Arabic manuscript, written A. H. 589, and entitled "Ashkálu-l-Bilád," containing maps and a geographical description of several countries. It is not quite perfect. On comparing this work with Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal's work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value. The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucnow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy.

Ibn Haukal wrote his work about A. D. 977, A. H. 367, and is the last author on Geography whom we have to consider. (Vid. Uylenbroek,

Descr. Irac. Pers. p. 57. Uri, *Bodl. Codd. MSS. Cat.* p. 209.)

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the sea of Fars to the country of Canauj is three months' journey.

* * * * *

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túrán, and Bodh.* On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fars, and on the west, Kirmán and the desert of Sejestán, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Mekrán and Kufs, beyond which is the sea of Fars. This sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, and extending from Saimúr on the east to Taiz of Mekrán, it encircles Kirmán and Fars like a bow.

The chief cities of this tract are the following: In Mekrán,—Taiz,† Kabar, Kabryún, Darak, Rasil, the city of schismatics,

* Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha*, (p. 163); so does Abulfeda (p. 261), Ousely, in his Oriental Geography, reads it *Nedeheh* (p. 146.) The question will be considered in a subsequent note.

† As these names differ in Ibn Haukal and other authors, it may be as well to subjoin the different passages for comparison.

Ibn Haukal says:—"In Mekran there are Taiz, Kaunazbúr, Darek, Rásek, Neh, Kasrfand. Adhafa, Tahalfahara, Mashka, Kambala, Armáil. In Thuran, Magak, Kígkánán, Shura, Kazdar. In Bodha, Kandábíl. In Sind Mansúra, Daíbal, Birún, Valará, Ayará, Balrá, Masváhi, Fahrag, Bania, Manhatara, Sadústan, Rúz, Gandarúz. In Hind, Kamuhul, Kámbaya, Súbara, Asavil, Hanavil, Sindan, Saimur, Báni Battan, Gandaruz, Sandaruz. (*De rebus Indicis.* p. 164.)

Ouseley gives them thus: Alis, Kusr, Fermosin, Derek, Rasek, Kesrbund, Kelaaherek, Meski, Meil, Armaiel, Mehali, Kibrkaman, Soreh, Kandabil, Mansourah, or Sindiah, Daubal, Meroui, Manoui, Airi, Baloni, Mesonahi, Beherje, Maseh, Meshari, Sedusan. (*Oriental Geography*, p. 147.)

The Nubian Geographer gives a more copious list, of which some can be identified with those above given:—Kia Kir, Ermail, Band, Casr-band, Lizabar, Haur, Cámbele, Manhábere, Dábil, Nirun, Fairuza, Mansúra, Kandan, Asfáca, Daree, Masurgian, Fardan, Kircaian, Cadera, Basma, Tuberan, Moltan, Giandur, Sandur, Dur, Atre, Cálere, Báseera, Mesuam, Sadusan, Bania, Mámchal, Kambaia, Subára, Sandán, Saimur, Fahalfahera, Rasee, Sarusan, Kusa, Kased, Sura, Nodha, Mehyae, Falon, Caliron and Belin. (*Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 56, 57.)

M. Jaubert, in his translation of Edrísí, gives the names as Kia, Kir, Ermail, Casri-bundi, Firabouz, Khour, Canbely, Menhabery, Dibal, Niroun, Mansouria, Wandan, Asfaca, Darek, Masourdjan, Fardan, Kirkaian, Cadira, Besmek, Touberan, Moultan, Djoudour, Sandour, Dour, Atry, Calery, Nira, Masouam, Charonsan, Bania, Mamehel, Kanbaia, Soubara, Sebdan and Seimour. (*Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. 1. p. 160.)

Beh, Nand, Kasírkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Muslí, Kuslí, Armáil. In Turán,—Mahálí, Kaníkánán, Saurá and Kasdár. In Bodhá,—Kandábíl. In Sind,—Mansúra, which, in the Sind language, is called Bámíwán, Daibal, Nirun,* Fálid, Ibrí, Ayarí Balzí, Misrábí, Harúj, Báruá, Manjábarí, Sadúsán, Dúr. In Hind,—Famhal, Cambáya, Sanbárah, Sabdán, Saimúr, Maleán,† Hadarpoor, and Basmat.

The country from Cambáya to Saimúr belongs to Balhara, one of the kings of Hind.‡ The inhabitants are infidels, although the places are of Muhammedan origin, as their kings before Balhara were Muhammedans.§ There are many mosques to be met with in these places, where Muhammedans assemble to pray.

The city in which Balhara resides is Mangir,‖ which has an extensive territory attached to it.

Mansúra is a mile long and a mile broad, surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmáns. The king of the country is one of the tribe of Koreish, named Ladbah, the son of Hobád, the son of Aswad.—Ladbah and his predecessors, who were of the same family, held possession of this island, and maintain it to this day, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa. The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here; but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor walnut, nor guava in it. There is a species of cane to be met with, producing sugar. The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple. It is called Lemún, and is exceedingly acid. The place also yields a fruit called Anbaj (mangoe) resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap. Prices are low and there is an abundance of food.

The current coin of the country is stamped at Candahár; one of the pieces is equivalent to five Dirhems. The Tatar¶ coin

* In the Ashkálu-l-Bilád this is plainly either Bírún, or Nírún, as suggested by M. Gildemeister. The original text which he has given of Ibn Haukal has no resemblance to either name.

† M. Gildemeister suggests that this may be Panípat, as he reads it in the original as Bani Battan.

‡ The printed text here adds, "to whom the Book of Fables is dedicated." There is no mention of this in the Ashkálu-l Bilád.

§ This is a very different statement from the printed text, which says that the Muhammedans had a prefect of their own persuasion, and that the author had observed the same practice in several other cities of which the Rulers were Infidels. The curious statement here made gives some colour to Tod's assertion about the Muhammedan king of Cambay in the time of Bappa (*Annals of Raj.* I. 247) which M. Gildemeister (p. 31) has declared to be "prorsus futile."

‖ There is nothing like this in the printed text, but the assertion corresponds with the statement of Mas'údí, (*Meadows of Gold*, pp. 175, 193, and 383.)

¶ Remusat and Mas'údí have the same. It is difficult to say what is meant by the expression.

also is current, each being in amount equal to a Dirhem and a half. They likewise use Dínárs. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the shirt and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.

Múltán is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary* of the house of gold." There is an idol in the place held in great veneration by the Hindús, and people from distant parts undertake a yearly pilgrimage to its temple and there expend vast sums of money. Many take up their residence at the shrine to lead there a life of devotion.

Múltán derives its name from this idol. The temple is situated on an elevation in a populous part of the city, in the midst of a bazar, near which mechanics and the dealers in ivory pursue their trade. The idol is placed immediately in the centre of the temple, around which the priests and the pilgrims take up their residence, and no other man in Múltán, either of Hind or Sind, is allowed to remain in the temple except the ministrants above mentioned.

The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture, on a pedestal made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like Morocco leather, but its eyes are open. Some say that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but it is not possible to ascertain this point with certainty, by reason of the skin which covers the body. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers closed,† so that only four can be counted. The eyes of the idol are of some precious gem, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Múltán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants return, otherwise they would destroy Múltán.

There is a strong fort in Múltán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Múltán is de-

* The Ashkálu-l-Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67) that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading.

† Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers." Zakaríyá Cazvíní, following Istakhrí, says "closed hands." The Ashkálu-l Bilád concurs with Istakhrí, as quoted by M. Kosegarten *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Edrísí speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. (*Geographie*, par *M. Jaubert*, Tom. I. p. 167.)

signated "the house of gold" is, that the Muhammedans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it. About half a farsang from Múltán are several edifices called Chandráwár,* the cantonment of the chief, who never enters Múltán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers enjoined for that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Koreish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawí, who first occupied the place. He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansúra. He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalífa.

Basmad is a small city, situated like Múltán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Mihrán. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well-water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country of Abrúr† is as extensive as Múltán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Daibal is to the west‡ of the Mihrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Daibal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords.§ The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nírún is between Daibal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábarí‖ is to the west of the

* This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l-Bilád. Gildemeister gives it as *Jandrár* and *Gándar*. The Nubian Geographer says, *Jandúr*, and Abú-l-fedá, *Gandáwar*.

† Ibn Haukal says Abrúz. Abú-l-fedá says, Azúr. The Nubian Geographer says Aldaur, as does the Ashkálu-l-Bilád, in a different part of this chapter.

‡ Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l-Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Daibal to the west.

§ M. Gildemeister translates this "locus sterilis est," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

‖ This name is read very differently by different Geographers. Vincent thinks that it is the same town as the Minnagara of Ptolemy, and of the Periplus usually ascribed to Arrian. D'Anville supposes Minnagara to be the same as Mansúra. C. Ritter says it is Tatta, so does Alex. Burnes, because Tatta is now called Sa-Minagur, and Mannert says, Binagara should be read for Minnagara. These high authorities place it on the Indus. But although goods were landed at Barbarice, the port of the Indus, and conveyed to Minnagara "by the river," there is no reason why Minnagara should have been *on* that river.

The Periplus merely says, "Minnagara is inland," μεσόγειος ἡ μητρόπολις αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ. Again, the Periplus says, the "Metropolis of the whole country, is Minnagara, whence great quantities of cotton goods are carried down to Barygáza," or Baroach, which could scarcely have been the place of export, if Minnagara had been on the

Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Daibal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábarí.

Maswáhí, Harj and Sadúsán,* are also situated to the west of the Mihrán.

On the road between Mansúra and Múltán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibrí and Labí.

Indus. But even allowing it to have been on the Indus, there is every reason to suppose it was on the eastern bank, whereas Manjábarí is plainly stated to be on the western.

Lassen derives the name of this capital of Indo-Scythia from the Sanskrit *Nagara*, a town, and *Min*, which he shows from Isidorus Characenus to be the name of a Scythian city. The Sindomana of Arrian may, therefore, owe its origin to this source. C. Ritter says *Min* is a name of the Sacas; if so, there can be little doubt that we have their representatives in the wild Mínas of Rájpútána, who have been driven but little to the eastward of their former haunts.

Minnagara is, according to Ptolemy, in Long. 115. 15. Lat. 19. 20, and he places it on the Nerbadda, so that his Minnagara, as well as that of the second quotation from the Periplus, may possibly be the famous Mándúgarh, (not far from that river,) and the Mánkir which the early Arab Geographers represent as the capital of the Ballahra.

The fact appears to be that there were two Minnagaras—One on, or near, the Indus; another on the Nerbadda (Narmada). Ptolemy's assertion cannot be gainsaid, and establishes the existence of the latter on the Nerbadda. The one on, or near, the Indus, was the capital of Indo-Scythia, and the Binagara, or Agrinagara, of Ptolemy. We learn from the Tohfatu-l-Kirám that in the twelfth century Minagár was one of the cities dependent on Múltán, and was in the possession of a chief, by caste an *Agri*, descended from Alexander. When we remember that Arrian informs us that Alexander left some of his troops, (including, no doubt, Agrians,) as a garrison for the town at the junction of the Indus and Acesines, this affords a highly curious coincidence, which cannot, however, be further dilated upon in this place.

(Compare Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. part 1. p. 475, and Vol. V. p. 181. *Ptol. Geogr.* Lib. VII. C. I. Tab. 10. Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythræan sea*, p. 349. D'Anville, *Antiq. d' l'Inde*, p. 34. Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen and Römer*, Vol. V. pp. 107, 130, 136. Hudson, *Geograph. Vet. Scriptores Græci Min.* Vol. I. Burnes' *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 79, *Journal of the Royal As. Soc.* Vol. I. p. 31. C. Lassen, *De Pentapotamia Ind.* p. 56. *Allgemeine Encyclop:* Art. *Indien*, p. 91. Arriani *De Expedit: Alex:* Lib. VI. 15.)

* The Táríkh-i Alfí, in a passage relating to Sultán Jalálu-d-Dín's proceedings on the Indus, mentions that Sadúsán was subsequently called Sistán. Though the writer here commits the common error of confounding Sístán with Sehwán, or Sehwestán, on the Indus, yet he leaves us in no doubt what correction to apply, and we thus derive from him an interesting piece of information; for the position of Sadúsán, which is so frequently mentioned in the Arab accounts of Sind, has not hitherto been ascertained.

Máíldí is also near the Mihrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra.

Bílha is a small city, the residence of Omar, the son of Abdu-l-Azzíz Habbári, of the tribe of Koreish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansúra.

The city of Famhal* is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimúr, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The country between Famhal and Mekrán, and Bodha, and beyond it as far as the borders of Múltán, are all the dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Bodha† and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Múltán and Mansúra, to the west of the Mihrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khorásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

The city where the Bodhites carry on their trade is Candábíl, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundary of Múltán to the sea, and in the desert between Mekrán and Famhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

There are Jáma Masjids at Famhal, Sindán, Saimúr and Cambáya, all which are strong and great cities, and the Muhammedan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoanuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

* Ibn Haukal has, *Kámuhul.* Ouseley, *Famhel.* The Nubian Geographer, *Mámehel.* Abú-l-fedá, *Kamhal.* Edrísí, *Mámehel.* They all concur in making it the border town between Hind and Sind. Edrísí implies that it is not far from the coast, and that it is five days' journey from Cambay (Tom. I. pp. 163 and 171.) The Nubian Geographer places it to the east of the Indus, before that river divides into two branches. Ibn Haukal says it is four days' journey from Cambay, and that there is a desert between the two towns. Zakaríyá Cazvíní does not notice it.

† The passage is difficult. Gildemeister says, "Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitæ, et gens quæ Mund vocatur. Bodha nomen est variarum tribuum," &c. (p. 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Múltán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mands." Edrísí says, the country from Múltán to Mansúra is occupied by Nedha, (Tom. I. 169,) and Cazvíní and the Nubian Geographer call this tract Nodha, and not Bodha, as Ibn Haukal does, though one copy even of that author give Nodha. If this should be the correct reading it lends an interest to a passage in Dionysius, who says in his Periegesis,

Ινδὸν πάρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκυθαι εννάιουσιν—v. 1088.

Νότιοι may have been meant for "the Nodhites," instead of "southern," as usually translated; or the Arabs may have converted the "southern" into a separate class with a distinctive name.

The villages of Dahúk and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labí and Armáil. Kalwán is a dependency of Mekrán, and Dahúk that of Mansúra. In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant.

Túrán* is a town.

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages. The governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabár-Kánán. This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance; but there are no date trees in this district.

* * * * *

(Here ends the extract from the Ashkálu-l-Bilád; that which follows is from Ibn Haukal, as edited by M. Gildemeister.)

There is a desert between Bania, Kámuhul and Kambaya. From Kambaya to Saimúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation. The moslems and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion. They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat. The men of Múltán dress in the same way. The language of Mansúra, Múltán and those parts is Arabic and Sindian. In Mekrán they use Persian and Mekránic. All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks, like the men of Irák and Persia.

* * * * * * * *

From Mansúra to Daibal is six days' journey—from Mansúra to Múltán, twelve—from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen—from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Múltán, twenty. From Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Bodhá, fifteen. The whole length of the jurisdiction of Mekrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen. From Múltán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten. He who travels from Mansúra to Bodhá must go along the banks of the Mihrán, as far as the city of Sadústán. From Kandábíl to Mansúra is about eight days' journey. From Kandábíl to Múltán, by the desert, ten. From Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight;—from Kámuhul to Kambaya, four. Kambaya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five days' journey;—from Sindán to Símúr about five;—from Símúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen;—from Múltán to Basmad, two;—from Basmad to Abrúz, three;—from Abrúz to Ayara, four;—from Ayara to Valara, two;—from Valara to Mansúra, one;—from Daibal to Kannazbúr, fourteen;—from Daibal to Manhátára (Man-

* The printed text says "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel.

jábarí) two, and that is on the road to Kannazbúr ;—Kámuhul from Mansúra is two days' journey,* and Bania intervenes. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jihún flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Múltán. It then flows by Basmad, Abrúz and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Daibal. Its water is very sweet, and there are crocodiles in it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence promotes the growth of crops, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz is three days' journey distant from Múltán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Múltán.

Gandarúz is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Gandarúz. It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz, towards the country of Mansúra.

Mekrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansúra and Mekrán the waters form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zut. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

* He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey; and that is doubtless the correct distance; otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Cambay, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l-fedá, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

II.

تاريخ بناكتي

TA'RI'KH-I-BINA'KITI'.

This is the same work as is called Biná-Gety by Mr. James Fraser, in his "Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts;" and Bina-i-Gety, by General Briggs, in his translation of the Preface of Ferishta—which would seem to imply that the title was considered by them to bear the meaning of "History of the foundation of the world." It certainly is so understood by native transcribers, for I have seen no copy of Ferishta, not even the lithograph edition, in which it is not so written, and it has been so translated by some continental scholars. Its correct name at full length is, "Rauza úlúu-l-albáb fí Tawáríkhu-l-Akábir wal-Ansáb," "the Garden of the learned in the histories of great men and genealogies." It is chiefly an abridgment, as the author himself states, of the Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and was compiled only seven years after that work, in A. H. 717—A. D. 1317—by Abú-Sulaimán Dáúd,* bin Abú-l-Fazl, bin Muhammed Fakhr* Binákití, so called from his having been born at Binákit, or Finákit, a town in Transoxiana, afterwards called Sháhrukhía. He copies Rashídu-d-dín

* This is the name he gives in his own Preface. European Orientalists generally call him Fakhru-d-Dín.

closely, without, however, adopting his arrangement, and dedicates his work to Sultán Abú Saíd, the ninth Mongol king of Persia.

The author was a Poet as well as an Historian, and was appointed by Sultán Gházán, poet laureate of his Court. Till the discovery of the lost portions of the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh, Binákití's work ranked very high both in Europe and Asia, but it must now take its place as a mere abridgment, and can be considered of no value as an original composition. Several good copies of the work exist in European Libraries, as in the Rich collection, Nos. 7626, 7627 of the British Museum; in the Leyden Library; and in Hammer-Purgstall's private collection. The work is not common in India. The best copy I know is in the possession of a native gentleman at Lucnow.

The 8th Book of this work is already known to the European public, though ascribed to a different author. In the year 1677 André Müller published at Berlin a small work in Persian with a Latin translation, under the title of *Abdallæ Beidavæi Historia Sinensis*, ascribing the original to the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizáwí. It was reprinted by his son in 1689, and Brunet tells us that Stephen Weston published 50 copies of an English translation in 1820. M. Quatremère had the ingenuity to guess, for several reasons which he states in detail, that this was in reality an extract from the History of Binákití, and not from Baizáwí; and by comparing the passage he has given from Mül-

ler's printed work with Binákití, of which a copy was not available to M. Quatremère, it proves to be verbatim the 2nd Chapter of the 8th Book of Binákití: and as the same result has been obtained by comparing it with the copy in the British Museum, there can no longer be any doubt on this point, and the *Historia Sinensis* must henceforth be attributed to Binákití.

CONTENTS.

Book I.—The Genealogy and History of the Prophets and Patriarchs from the time of Adam to Abraham; comprising a period of 4838 years. (The use of the word *Ausyá* shows the writer to be a Shía Muhammedan;)—from p. 2 to 25.

Book II.—The kings of Persia, from Kaiumurs to Yezdegird, together with the celebrated Prophets and Philosophers who were their contemporaries; 4322 years;—from p. 25 to 59.

Book III.—History of Muhammed; the four first Khalifs; twelve Imáms, and later Khalifs, down to Mustasim billah, the last of the Abbásides; 626 years;—from p. 60 to 186.

Book IV.—The Sultáns and kings who in the time of the Abbáside Khalifs rose to power in the kingdom of Irán, including the dynasties of Saffárians, Sámánians, Dyálima, Ghaznevides, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, and the kings of the Forest, or Heretics, (Assassins;) 400 years;—from p. 186 to 208.

Book V.—The History of the Jews, their Kings and Prophets, from Moses to Mutína, (Zedekiah, See 2. Kings xxiv. 17,) who was slain by Bakhtnassar; 941 years;—from p. 208 to 230.

Book VI.—The History of the Christians and Franks; the descent of the Virgin Mary from David; the kings of the Franks, the Cæsars and Popes; 1337 years;—from p. 231 to 260.

Book VII.—The Hindús; an account of the country and kings of India from Básdeo to Alá-u-d-dín, and an account of Shákmúní; 1200 years;—from p. 260 to 281.

Book VIII.—History of Khitá. The government lasted, according to local historians, 42,875 years;—from p. 281 to 299.

Book IX.—History of the Moghuls; the origin of Changez Khán, and his conquest of Persia, &c. with an account of his sons and successors; 101 years;—from p. 299 to 402.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 402 pages, of 21 lines.

A fuller detail is given in the Vienna year-book for 1835 by Hammer-Purgstall, who states that our author composed his work in A. H. 718—not 717—though the latter date is expressly mentioned not only in the Preface, but in other parts of the work. The same author gives the year of his death as A. H. 730, and reads his name Binákatí.

It will be observed that the seventh Book is devoted to India. Throughout the whole of it Binákití follows Rashídu-d-dín implicitly, copying him even with all his errors, just as Rashídu-d-dín follows Bírúní. Nothing shows more completely the ignorance of the western Asiatics with respect to the state of India since Mahmúd's time, than to find these two authors, 300 years afterwards, mentioning that Bárí is the capital of the province of Canauj, of which the kings are the most potent in India; that Thanesar is in the Dúáb, and Muttra on the east bank of the Jumna. All this is taken from Abú Ríhán, as may be seen by referring to the extracts in the preceding article.

It is needless to translate any passage from this work, but it may be as well to mention, as the Calcutta copy of Rashídí, as well as that of the India House, is deficient in that respect, that the succession of the Cábul kings, who preceded the Ghaznevides, occurs in nearly the same order as in M. Reinaud's Edition of Bírúní, and with nearly the same names, but the last of the Turk dynasty, whom M. Reinaud calls Laktouzemán, is here under the more pro-

bable shape of Katorán "king of the Katores," and in closer resemblance to the Kutaurmán mentioned in Mr. E. Thomas' able paper which lately appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is worthy of remark that the present chief of Chitrál is called Sháh Katore, and claims descent from the Macedonians. Kalar, the first of the Bráhman dynasty, is omitted by Binákití. Anandpál is converted into Andapál, and the nearest approach to M. Reinaud's doubtful name of Nardanjánpála (correctly perhaps Niranjanpál) is Tásdar Jaipál.*

The Táríkh-i Binákití begins thus :—

الحمد لله حمده والصلواة علی خیرخلقه محمد و آله اجمعین
اما بعد چون حق جل وعلا توفیق رفیق این ضعیف گردانید
وهو اضعف حق الیه تعالی ابو سلیمان داؤد بن ابی الفضل
محمد البنا کتے

and concludes with these words :—

خداوندا تو عقل و داد بخشش بسوی مکرمت ارشاد بخشش
جهان از عدل او آباد گردان دل خلق جهان را شاد گردان
ببخشي از فلک هرصبح و هرشام
دوام عمر و کام و نام و انعام

* Compare, *Recueil des Voyages*, Tom II. p. 369. *Fundgruben des Orients*, Tom III. p. 330. *Gesch. der Ilchane*, Vol. II. p. 267. *Coll. Or.* Tom I. pp. LXXXV—CI. 424. *Yahrbücher*, No. 69. *Anz. Blatt*, p. 33. *Gesch. d. schön. Red. Pers.* p. 241. Elphinstone, *Kingdom of Cabul*, App. C. p. 619. Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Journ. R. A. S.* Vol. IX. p. 194. C. Ritter, *Erd. von. As.* Vol. V. p. 207. *Gemäldesaal der Lebensb.* Vol. IV. p. 35. Zenker, *Bibliotheca Or.* 857, 858. *Gesch. d. G. Horde*, pp. XXXI. 343. Jenisch, *Hist. priorum Regum Persarum.* p. 142.—*Yahrbb, No.* 73. *p.* 26.

III.

تاريخ گزيده

TARÍKH-I-GUZÍDA.

This work was composed in A. H. 730—A. D. 1329—by Hamdulla bin Abíbakr bin Hamd bin Nasr Mustaufí* Kazvíní, and dedicated to the minister Ghaiásu-d-dín, the son of Rashídu-d-dín, to both of whom our author had been Secretary.

It ranks among the best General Histories of the East. Hammer-Purgstall calls it in different passages of his works the best, the most faithful, and the most brilliant of all the histories which were composed about that period. He remarks that it contains much matter not found elsewhere, and concurs in the praise bestowed upon it by Hájí Khalfa, that implicit confidence is to be placed in its assertions. It is a pity, therefore, that the work is in so abridged a form as to be more useful for its dates than for its details of facts. The authors of the Universal History frequently quote it, under the name of Tarik Cozidih.

Eleven years after the completion of this His-

* "President of the Exchequer." It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a family designation, or one derived from actual occupation of office.

tory, the author composed his celebrated work on Geography and Natural History, entitled Nuzhatu-l-Kulúb, "the delight of hearts," which is in high repute with oriental scholars, and which has obtained for him from D'Herbelot the title of "*le* Geographe Persan."

The author states that he had undertaken to write in verse an universal History from the time of Muhammed, and had already written five or six thousand lines, and hoped to complete it in seventy-five thousand; but being anxious to bring out a work in prose also, in order that he might have the satisfaction of presenting it as soon as possible to his excellent patron, Ghaiás-u-dín, whose praises extend throughout two pages, he compiled the present work, under the name of Táríkh-i-Guzída, "Selected History," having abstracted it from twenty-four different works, of which he gives the names, and amongst them, the history of Tabarí, of Ibnu-l-Athír Jazarí, the Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh of Baizáwí, the Zubdatu-t-Tawáríkh of Jamálu-d-dín Káshí, and the Jahán-kushái of Juwainí. Besides these twenty-four, he quotes occasionally several other valuable works, many of which are now quite unknown.

The Táríkh-i-Guzída contains a Preface, six Books and an Appendix. The only Books useful for the illustration of Indian History are the third and fourth, in which are comprised the account of the early attempts of the Arabs on the Indian frontier and the History of the Ghaznevide and Ghorian monarchs.

CONTENTS.

The Preface contains an account of the creation of the world; from p. 1 to p. 8.

Book I.—An account of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Philosophers; in two sections and two subsections;—from p. 8 to 67.

Book II.—The Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Ashkánians, (Arsacidæ and Mulúki Tawáif) and Sássánians;—in four sections; from p. 68 to 109.

Book III.—Muhammed, the Khalífas and Imáms; in an Introduction and six sections;—from p. 109 to 311.

Book IV.—The eastern monarchies, from the beginning of Muhammedanism to A. H. 730—A. D. 1329—in twelve sections and several subsections, devoted to the following Dynasties:—

Bin-i-Lais Saffár, Sámánians, Ghaznevides, Ghorians, Búyides or Dyálima, Saljúkians, Khwárazmians, Atábaks, (2 Sections,) Ismáílians, Karákhitáis, and Moghuls;—from p. 311 to 477.

Book V.—The Saints and Elders of the Muhammedan faith, Philosophers and Poets; in six sections;—from p. 477 to 557.

Book VI.—An account of the author's native place, Cazvín, and its celebrated characters; in eight sections;—from p. 557 to 603.

The Appendix contains Genealogical Trees of Prophets, Princes, Philosophers and others;—from p. 603 to 618.

SIZE—8vo. containing 618 pages of 14 lines.

A work in so abridged a form can scarcely be expected to present any passages worthy of extract, but the following are selected as comprising a few anecdotes which have escaped the notice of some more ponderous chroniclers:—

The Táríkh-i Yemíní, Makámát Abú Nasr Maskátí, and the volumes of Abú-l-Fazl Baihakí, have recounted the actions of Mahmúd of Ghazní.

He was a friend to learned men and poets, on whom he bestowed munificent presents, insomuch that every year he expended upon them more than 400,000 Dínárs. His features were very ugly. One day regarding his own face in a mirror, he became thoughtful and depressed. His Wazír inquired as to the cause of his sorrow, to which he replied, "It is generally understood that the sight of kings adds vigour to the eye, but the form with which I am endowed is calculated to strike the beholder blind." The Wazír replied, "Scarcely one man in a million looks on your

face, but the qualities of your mind shed their influence on every one. Study, therefore, to maintain an unimpeachable character, that you may be loved by all your subjects." Yemínu-d-daulah Mahmúd was pleased with this admonition, and since that period he paid so much attention to the cultivation of his mental endowments, that he surpassed all other kings in that respect.*

In the first year of his accession to the throne a mine of gold was discovered in Sístán in the shape of a tree, and the lower the miners dug the richer and purer it became, till one of the veins attained the circumference of three yards. It disappeared in the time of Súltán Mas'úd, on the occurrence of an earthquake.

* * * * *

In the year 394 he set out on an expedition to Sístán against Khalaf† the son of Ahmad, because Khalaf, on returning from his pilgrimage, had appointed his son Táhir as his successor, and himself retired from the world and devoted himself to the worship of God; but being again prompted by ambition and desirous of the crown, he put his son to death by treachery. Yemínu-d-daulah, in order to avenge this perfidy, attacked Khalaf, who took shelter in the fort of Ták. Yemínu-d-daulah besieged the fort, Khalaf capitulated, and visited Mahmúd under promise of a pardon, and had no sooner entered his presence than he addressed him as "Sultán." Yemínu-d-daulah, being pleased with this show of humiliation, freely pardoned Khalaf, and reinstated him in the government of Sístán, and from that period assumed the title of Sultán. Khalaf, son of Ahmad, after a while rebelled against Sultán Mahmúd, and sought the protection of Ilak Khán. Sultán Mahmúd, on hearing this, dethroned him from Sístán, and sent him to Júrján, where he remained till the day of his death.

Sultán Mahmúd having conquered Bhátea and Multán to the frontiers of Cashmír, made peace with Ilak Khán, who sometime after broke faith with him, and advanced to battle against him; but he was defeated, and took to flight. Many beautiful children fell into the hands of the Záwaleáns, who were delighted with their booty. Ilak Khán then sought the assistance of the Ghazz and the Turks of Chín, the descendants of Afrásiáb, but was

* This anecdote is given in the *Gemäldesaal d. Lebensb*: but Ferishta merely says Mahmúd was marked with the small-pox.

In the reign of Mas'úd, that Historian ascribes a statement to the Guzída which is at variance with the MSS. I have consulted. He says that according to the Guzída, Mas'úd reigned nine years and nine months, whereas the Guzída distinctly says that monarch reigned thirteen years. It may be as well to mention here that Briggs in his translation of Ferishta, has, by some oversight entered the History of Hamdulla Mustaufí and the Tárikh-i-Guzída, as two different works.

† See Jenisch, *Histor. Reg. Pers.* p. 46.

again defeated in an action near Balkh, and took a second time to flight. He again made peace with the Sultán, and went to reside in Máwaráu-n-nahr.

Sultán Mahmúd then made war with Nawása, (the grandson of?) the ruler of Multán; conquered that country; converted the people to Islám; put to death the ruler of Multán, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.

Sultán Mahmúd now went to fight with the Ghorians, who were infidels at that time, and Súrí, their chief, was killed in this battle, and his son was taken prisoner; but dreading the Sultán's vengeance, he killed himself by sucking a ring in which there was poison concealed. The country of Ghor was annexed to that of the Sultán, and the population thereof converted to Islám. He now attacked the fort of Bhím, where was a famous temple of the Hindús, was victorious, and obtained much wealth, including about a hundred idols of gold and silver. One of the latter, which weighed above several thousand *miskals*, the Sultán appropriated to the decoration of the Mosque of Ghazní, so that the ornaments of the doors were of gold instead of iron.

The rulers of Ghurjistán were at this time called Shár; Abú Nasr Shár Ghurjis, was at enmity with Sultán Mahmúd, who sent his army against him, and having taken him prisoner, the Sultán concluded peace with him, and purchased his property. From that time he entered the service of the Sultán and continued in it to the day of his death.

The ruler of Mardain* having likewise rebelled against the Sultán, withheld the payment of revenue. The Sultán deputed Abú Saíd Táí with an army to make war with him, and he himself followed afterwards, and a battle ensuing, the chief of Mardain took refuge in a fort. The Sultán destroyed its walls by means of elephants, and thus gained possession of the fort. He there perceived some inscriptions on a stone bearing the date of the erection of the fort, which purported to be 40,000 years old. Upon this they were all convinced of the folly of the idolaters, as from the creation of Adam the age of the world did not (as it is generally understood) exceed 7,000 years, nor was it probable, according to the opinion of the learned, that a building could remain in a state of repair so long; but as their ignorance is carried to such a degree that they worship idols instead of the Supreme Being, it is not improbable that they really did entertain such a belief.

This History, though often quoted by oriental writers, is rare in India. The best copy I know

* Other authorities usually say Nárdain, but these differences will be noticed more opportunely hereafter.

is in the Library of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No 493, but it is unfortunately defective both in the beginning and end. Yár Alí Khán, chief native Judge of Jaunpúr, has a good copy, and there is one also in the king of Lucnow's Library. In Europe the most celebrated are those of Stockholm, Paris, the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Hammer-Purgstall and Sir W. Ouseley.*

The Táríkh-i Guzída opens thus:—

سپاس وستایش بادشاهی راکه ملک اوبیزوال است و مملکت او
بی‌انتقال است اول پیش از ابتداء اخري بعد از انتها ظاهر مظهر
جمیع اشیا باطني چگونگي ذاتش بیش از دانش ما قدیمي که
قدم با وجودش عدم نماید عظیمی که قلم از شرح وصفش
قاصر آید

The conclusion, as given below, is obviously incorrect, and after a comparison of two copies, the sentence is still left doubtful.

و هرجدولی که از مدوری برحاشیه بسر اوست و آنرا که
تحقیق بکنیت پدران معلوم شده و ازان نسل که بوده خدوشی بدو
رسیده و باو کرده تصحیه این انساب از کتب معتمد علیه کرده شد
و العلم عندالله

* Compare *Wiener Yahrbb.* No. lxix. p. 10, and *Anzgbl.* p. 31. Briggs' *Ferishta.* Vol. I. p. 1. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. III. p. 331. *Gesch. der Gold. Horde,* pp. XVI, XXII. *Coll. Or.* Tom. I. p. LIV. *Gesch. der Ilchane.* Vol. II. pp. 268, 320. *Gesch. d. sch. red. Pers.* p. 12. *Journ. Asiatique,* III. Ser. Tom. I. p. 581. M. Petis de la Croix, *Hist. de Genghiz Can,* p. 541. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Art. *Tárikh Khozideh.*

IV.

تاريخ حافظ ابرو

TA'RÍKH-I HA'FIZ ABRU'.

Núru-d-Dín bin Lutf-ullah, better known as Háfiz Abrú, was born in the city of Herát, but passed his infancy and youth in Hamadán, where he received his education. He attained by his writings a distinguished rank among contemporary authors, and was fortunate enough to secure the esteem of Timur, who gave him numerous proofs of his consideration, admitted him to his intimacy, and sought every occasion of doing him service. After the death of that tyrant, he attended the court of Sháh Rukh, and received from the young prince Mirzá Baisengar every demonstration of kindness and regard. To him he dedicated his great work, under the name of Zubdatu-t-Tawáríkh Baisengarí, which contains a complete history of the world, and an account of the institutions and religions of different people down to A. H. 829*

* The editor of a "Critical Essay on various Manuscript works," says that he has examined a copy of this History dated A. H. 817. He also observes that as Háfiz Abrú had travelled in many parts of Asia, his geographical statements, which are numerous, are well worthy of consideration.

The Vienna Yahrbücher says, the history is carried down to A. H. 825. These different statements cannot be reconciled, and there must be error somewhere.

—A. D. 1425. The author died five years afterwards in the city of Zanján.*

The work is more generally known as Táríkh-i-Háfiz Abrú, and under that name it is quoted by Haidar Rází, Mírkhond, D'Herbelot, Khondemír, and the Táríkh-i-Alfí. Sir W. Ouseley frequently quotes it in his travels as abounding in geographical details.

I have never seen the work, nor am I aware that a copy exists in India, but it is frequently quoted as an authority on subjects connected with Indian History. The only copies in Europe which are spoken of, are those in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburgh, and in Sir W. Ouseley's Collection.†

* For its position see Index to Wilken's *Historia Samanidarum*, p. 222. v. *Zendschan.*

† Compare *Coll. Or.* Tom I. p. ciii, and II. p. lv. Wilken, *Histor. Ghaznevidarum*, pp. xiv, 212, 227, 244. *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, pp. xvi. and xxii. *Wien Yahrbb.* No. lxxiii. pp. 21, 25. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Tom. III. p. 426. *Critical Essay*, p. 34. Mirkhond, *Rauzatu-s-Safá*, Vol. I. p. 8. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 188.

V.

زين ال اخبار

ZAYNU-L-AKHBA'R.

This work is quoted in the Histories of Ferishta and Nizámu-d-Dín Ahmad Bakhshí as one of the authorities on which their statements are founded; but it does not appear for what particular period of Indian History they are indebted to it for information. The only knowledge I have of it is derived from the account of Sir W. Ouseley, who describes it thus:—

"The Zainu-l-Akhbár is a very curious and extraordinary work; containing the ancient history of Persia, of the Jewish, Christian, Magian and Hindú religious fasts and ceremonies, Annals of the Muhammedan kings and Khalífas, Geographical notices, anecdotes, and chronological tables," &c.

"A most valuable work in illustrating the history and antiquities of Asia. Of this excellent work I have never seen another copy."*

SIZE—small Folio—containing 527 pages.

* See Sir W. Ouseley's *Oriental Manuscripts*, No. 704, and *Epitomè of the Anc. Hist. of Persia*, p. xii.

VI.

تاريخ هند

TÁRÍKH-I HIND.

Hájí Khalfa mentions (No. 2340) a work under this title, composed by Muhammed bin Yúsuf Hirwí. He says that it contains an account of the notable things in the country of Hind, and he adds—"to this Title are to be referred the histories of New West India, which a late author has translated into Turkí from the lingua franca, with additions. In it he has given a full account of the country known by the name of Yangí Dunyá, "the new world." The Táríkh-i Hind is no doubt the same work as "Risála-i-Ajáib wa Gharáib-i-Hindustán," since the author of that treatise also bears the name of Muhammed Yúsuf Hirwí.

It is probably the same Táríkh-i-Hind which is quoted in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, the Habíbu-s-Siyar, and the Nafahátu-l-Ins. As the two last in their quotation from the Táríkh-i-Hind show the author to have been contemporary with, and to have conversed with, Khwája Hasan Dehliví, who was a disciple of Nizámu-Dín Ahmad, he must have flourished about the beginning of the eighth century of the Hijrí, for Nizámu-Dín died A. H. 725.

VII.

روضة الصفا

RAUZATU-S-SAFÁ.

The full title of this work is "Rauzatu-s-Safá fí Sairatu-l-Ambiá wau-l-Mulúk wau-l Khulfá, "the garden of purity, containing the history of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs." It was composed by Mírkhond, or more correctly Mír Kháwend, whose true name at length is Muhammed bin Kháwend Sháh bin Mahmúd. He was born towards the close of the year 836 H., or the beginning of 837—A. D. 1432, 33.

We gather some few particulars of him and of his family from the account of his patron, the minister Alí Sher and of his son Khondemír. The father of Mírkhond was Sayad Burhánu-dín Kháwend Sháh, a native of Máwaráu-n-nahar, who traced his pedigree to Hasan, the son of Alí. When his father died, Kháwend Sháh was young, and being compelled by circumstances to abandon his country, he fixed his residence in the town of Balkh, where he indulged himself in the study of literature and science, and after an intermediate residence at Heŕát, returned to Balkh and died there.

Of Mírkhond himself very little is known. When he was only thirteen years of age he accompanied his father on a political embassy,

which was not only entirely unsuccessful, but the negotiators were unfortunately pillaged by the Turks and deprived of every thing they took with them. On another occasion, he tells us, that he was on a hunting expedition, when for leaving his post to join in mid-day prayer, he was reprimanded by some of the royal servants, and was so much alarmed at the reproaches and at the extortions to which he was exposed in consequence, that he fell ill and remained in a bad state for seven days. "Frightful dreams troubled him during the night, and before his departure the humble author of this history took God to witness, and vowed that on no account would he ever be induced to join another hunting expedition."

These luckless adventures seemed to have indisposed him towards an active and public life, and he devoted himself early to literature. His son tells us, that Mírkhond having employed his early life in acquiring all that was attainable in Eastern science, in which he soon outstripped all his contemporaries, he applied himself with equal assiduity and success to the study of history. "Through the seductions of a convivial disposition, however, and too unrestrained an intercourse with the votaries of pleasure, it never occurred to him to engage in the labours of composition, until by the goodness of Providence and the influence of his better destiny, he found means to be introduced to the excellent Alí Sher, from whom he immediately experienced every mark of kindness and

encouragement." He assigned to Mírkhond apartments in the Khánkáh Akhlásía, a building erected by him "to serve as a retreat and asylum to men of merit distinguished by their attainments," and cheered him with intellectual converse when exhausted with the labours of composition.

Alí Sher himself, in the biographical article which he devotes to Mírkhond, vaunts in pompous terms the distinguished talents of the historian, and greatly applauds himself for having by his counsels and urgent remonstrances overcome the modesty of this honorable man, and for having thus contributed to enrich Persian Literature with a production so remarkable as the Rauzatu-s-Safá.

A great portion of this work was composed on a bed of sickness, and the author has himself given a painful account of the circumstances under which he was compelled to write. It is fortunate that writing was found rather to relieve than aggravate his disease. "I wrote all, chapter by chapter, lying on my right side, and because of the violent pains I felt in my loins, I was not able to write a single page sitting down. Clever physicians assured me that this occupation would relieve me of the malady, or at least prevent its becoming worse. If on any night I happened to neglect my usual labour, and wished to abandon myself to repose, I had troublesome dreams, woke up in affright, or an excessive heat came over me which prevented my sleeping. If, on the con-

trary, I set myself to write as usual, I had a good sleep and agreeable dreams."

For a whole twelve month before his death he gave himself up entirely to religious duties, while his malady increased upon him every day, and after a lingering illness he expired in the month Zílk'ad, 903, corresponding with June 1498—aged sixty-six years.

There is no Oriental work that stands higher in public estimation than the Rauzatu-s-Safá. The author has availed himself of no less than nineteen Arabic, and twenty-two Persian Histories, besides others which he occasionally quotes. His work forms the basis of many other compilations, and the greater portion of Hájí Khalfá's History may be considered to be founded upon it. It must be confessed, however, that the Rauzatu-s-Safá is very unequal in its execution, some portions being composed in great detail, and others more compendiously. It is most copious in what concerns the kings of Persia.

CONTENTS.

Introduction. On the study of History in general, and its advantages, especially to Rulers.

Book I.—Gives an account of the Creation of the world, and of the Deluge; details the lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets; and contains the ancient History of Persia, to the conquest of that country by the Muhammedans, A. D. 636, the life of Alexander and several Grecian Philosophers.—339 pages.

Book II.—Details the History of Muhammad and the four first Khalifs, Abúbakr, Omar, Osmán and Alí, with a particular account of their conquests to A. D. 664.—368 pages.

Book III.—Contains the lives of the twelve Imáms. This section comprises also the History of the Ummayide and Abbáside Khalifs.—232 pages.

Book IV.—Includes Memoirs of the Dynasties of Táhirides, Saffárides, Sámánides, Búyides, Saljúkides, Ghaznevides, Ghorians Atábaks, &c. who reigned over Persia, Transoxiana, Irák, &c. from about the year 800 to 1263 A. D.—pages 293.

Book V.—Presents the History of the celebrated conqueror Changez Khán, who was born A. D. 1154, and died at the age of 73: also Memoirs of his descendants, who reigned over Irán and Túrán till A. D. 1335.—pages 253.

Book VI.—Exhibits the History of Timúr; also of his sons and successors to the year 1426.—pages 408.

Book VII.—In this section are preserved the Memoirs of Sultán Husain Mirzá Abú-l-Ghází Bahádar, fourth in descent from Timúr, who reigned with great repute over Khorásán for thirty-four years and died A. D. 1505.—pages 166.

Conclusion.—Contains a description of the city of Herát (then the capital of Khorásán) and of several other places of that kingdom.—pages 75.

Size—Folio, 2 Vols. containing respectively 939 and 1195 pages, of 29 lines each.

This accords with the Table of Contents given by the author himself, and copied by Stewart in his "*Catalogue of Tipú Sultán's Library*;" but differs from the Latin Catalogue of the MSS. of Erpenius, at p. 27 of the Appendix to "*Hottingeri Promptuarium.*"

A very full list of Contents will be found in the "*Vienna Yahrbücher*" Nos. lxix. and lxx. *Anzeige-Blatt*, where the Rubrics of the entire work are given.

M. Jourdain, in his elaborate article in the ixth Vol. of "*Notices et extraits des MSS.*" observes that additions were subsequently made to the seventh book by the author's son Khondemír, because the author died A. H. 903, and events are recorded in it of A. H. 911. He consequently is disposed to ascribe the whole book to another hand; but Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels*, II. 397) is of opinion that Mírkhond wrote at

least the first part of that book. His son Khondemír distinctly observes, that of his father's work the seventh book remained incomplete for want of materials, or, as has been suggested, more probably through the delicacy of engaging in a narrative of the passing events of the reign of Abú-l-Ghází. This omission he pledged himself at a future period to supply, should the requisite materials be procurable, and heaven be propitious to his hopes. This he accordingly did, and the seventh book is composed of extracts taken from the Habíbu-s-Siyar, and contains the biography of Mírkhond. The preface leaves it very doubtful whether any portion of the seventh book was written by Mírkhond, for the names of both father and son occur in it in a very strange combination.

The Conclusion, or Geographical Appendix, is more rarely to be found than the other portions. In this also there are several interpolations by Khondemír. There is an excellent copy of it in the Asiatic Society's Library.

We have no entire translation of this work, but at different times and in different languages several portions of the History have been made available to the European reader. The early volumes of the "*Modern Universal History*" derive the history of Persia from the Rauzatu-s-Safá, —a portion of the work which has been attributed by some to Dr. Hunt, by others to George Psalmanazar.

Major Price has used the Rauzatu-s-Safá more copiously than any other work in his "*Re-*

trospect of Mahom: History," and in his "*Hist. of Arabia.*" The substance of a great portion of the history has been presented by Pedro Texeira, a learned Spaniard, in his "*Relacion de los Reyes de Persia*," and more accurately in a French work entitled "*Les Etats, Empires, et Principautés du Monde.*" Paris 1662. A translation was published at Paris subsequently by Cotolendi, in 1681, which is characterized in the "*Biographie Universelle*" as "*assez mauvaise.*" It was translated into Italian by Alfonso Lasor, and into English by Capt. J. Stevens, in 1715.

A portion of Book iv. was edited at Vienna in 1782 by M. Jenisch, with a Latin Translation, under the title of "*Historia priorum Regum Persarum post firmatum in Regno Islamismum, Persice et Latine, cum notis geographicis et litterariis.*"

Some copious extracts are given in the "*Origines Russes*," St. Petersburg, 1825.

M. de Sacy has translated the History of the Sássánians. M. Wilken that of the Sámánides in Latin, and that of the Búides or Deilemites in German, besides several extracts in his "*Chrestomathia Persica.*" M Jourdain that of the Ismaílites, or Assassins. M. Mitscherlich that of the Táherides. Mr. David Shea that of the Peshdádians and early kings of Persia, down to Alexander the Great. Dr. Vullers has published a German translation of that of the Saljúks, as well as an edition of the original. Some of these translations, and one or two others, receive a more detailed notice at

p. 105 of the "*Bibliotheca Orientalis*" of Zenker, Leipzig, 1846.

The portion of this History relating to the Ghaznevides and Ghorians is all that demands here our more particular notice. The former has been well edited, with a Latin Translation, by Wilken in one Vol. 4to. Berlin 1832. He has given various readings, and enriched his translation with notes, in which he has compared the narrative of his authors with that of Ferishta, and the chronicle of Haidar Rází, still leaving however much to be explained respecting the marches and expeditions of Mahmúd.

The History of the Ghorians was translated into Latin by Dr. Mitscherlich, 1818, 8vo. under the title of "*Mirchondi Historia Ghuridarum.*" A great part of it has also been translated by Dr. Bernhard Dorn, in his annotations to the "*History of the Afghans.*" And M. Dufrémary has lately given us a French translation in the "*Journal Asiatique.*"*

EXTRACT.

Sultán Mas'úd having reached Ghazní in a state of great distraction and embarrassment, imprisoned certain of the chief officers of the state, and put some of them to death under the suspicion of their having misconducted themselves in the war

* Compare Silvestre de Sacy, *Mem. sur div. Antiq.* &c.; Wilken, *Instit. ad fund. ling. Pers.; Chrestomath. Notices et Extr. des MSS.* Tom. v. pp. 192—229. ix. pp. 117—274; Price, *Retrosp. of Muham. History*, Vol. iv. p. 656. *Journ. d. Savants*, 1837, pp. 719—729, 1843, pp. 170—185 and 385—403, 1845, p. 383, 1847, pp. 162—180. *Wien Yahrbücher*, No. lxxvi; p. 227; *Nouv. J. As.* Tom. xi. pp. 179—182. *J. Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom. iii. pp. 258—291. *Fundgruben d. Or.* Vol. iii. p. 330. vi. 269. *As. Journal*, Vol. xxvi. pp. 228—237, Casiri, *Bibl. Arab. Hist.* Vol. ii. p. 68. *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde.* p. xxiv.

with the Saljúkís, and despatched towards Balkh his son, named Maudúd, at the head of a detachment of his army, accompanied by Wazír Abú Nasr Ahmad, son of Muhammed, son of Abdu-s-samad, while he himself attended by his brother Muhammed Makhúl,* and the sons of the latter, named Ahmad Abdu-r-rahmán, and Abdu-r-rahím, as well as by all his relatives, proceeded to Hindustán with a view to pass the cold season there; and at the commencement of spring, to march with a large army on Khorásán, for the purpose of expelling the Saljúkís. After Sultán Mas'úd had crossed the Indus, the royal treasure, which was in his rear on the other side of the river, was plundered by Noshtigín, and the household troops of the Sultán, who afterwards waited upon Muhammed Makhúl, and did him homage as their Sovereign.

On his refusing to comply with their request to ascend the throne, they said that with a view to the advancement of his interests they had committed a crime in plundering the treasure, and threatened at the same time, that in the event of his non-compliance, they would put him to death, and enter into an understanding with some other chief. Muhammed Makhúl was thus compelled to agree to their demands, and crossing the river with him, they fought a battle against Mas'úd. The army of Mas'úd, which was very small, was defeated, and he was compelled to take shelter in a neighbouring Saráí. He was at length apprehended, and brought into the presence of his brother, who assured him that he had no intention to take his life, but on the contrary, to assign him any place which he might select to reside in with his family.

Mas'úd chose the Fort of Karí,† to which place Muhammed sent him and all his family, and set a guard over them.

It is said that when Mas'úd was about to set out for that fort, he begged of Muhammed a certain sum to meet his expenses. The parsimonious‡ Muhammed sent him only 500 Dirhams, on the receipt of which Mas'úd wept and exclaimed, "Yesterday I could command three thousand loads of treasure, but to-day I have not a single Dirham which I can call my own."

Upon this, the bearer of the 500 Dirhams gave to Mas'úd 1000 Dínárs out of his own private resources. This liberal act led to the prosperity of the donor, who met with his reward in the reign of Maudúd, son of Mas'úd.

* Makhúl means "deprived of his eyesight," for he had been blinded by order of Mas'úd.—The only meaning which Richardson gives to this word is, "Anointed with collyrium."

† Abú-l-fedá reads Kendí and Kaidi (Reiske, iii. 669) Haidar Rází has Bakar, Wilken's printed edition and the Bombay lithographed edition may be read either Kabrí or Kubra.

‡ Wilken translates "mera ex negligentia,"

As Muhammed had been deprived of the blessing of sight, he left the administration of the country to his son Ahmad, and reserved for himself merely* the name of king. Ahmad, whose mind was somewhat deranged, in concert with the son of Yúsuf Sabuktigín, and with the son of Alí Khesháwand, went to the fort of Karí, and without the consent of Muhammed, put Mas'úd to death, which circumstance afflicted Muhammed very much.

Some say that Ahmad instigated his father to procure the death of Mas'úd.

Mas'úd reigned 9 years and 11 months. He was brave, affable, generous, and fond of the company of the learned, whom he placed under manifold obligations to him; on which account many authors dedicated their works to him.

The names of these authors are not given by Mírkhond, but two are named in the Habíbu-s-Siyar and Ferishta. One of them is the famous Abú Ríhán al Bírúní. Briggs (*Ferishta*, I. 113) has strangely perverted the name, translating it as Anvury Khan, but the Persian original, lithographed at Bombay, gives it correctly. As this author is so frequently mentioned in the first portion of this volume, a short notice of him is appended.†

There are several Manuscripts of the Rauzatu-s-Safá in India and in Europe, but few are perfect. M. Jourdain, in his article in Tom. IX. of *Notices et extraits des MSS.* quotes no less than eight different copies, and the prefaces to the several translations noticed above give an account of several valuable MSS.

* Wilken translates "neque regiæ dignitatis nomen retinuit." He reads پیش instead of بیش which latter reading is shown to be correct by the word زیادہ in his MS. marked D.

† See Note B.

which contain portions of the Rauzatu-s-Safâ in the different Libraries of Europe. The one lithographed at Bombay in 1848, in two Folio Volumes, is the most perfect copy known to me. It contains the seventh Book and the Conclusion. The execution of so laborious and expensive an undertaking reflects great credit on the Native Press of Bombay, but it is to be regretted that the work was not critically edited, with notices of the Variants.

The initial words are :—

زیب فهرست نسخه مفاخر انبیاء عالي مکان و زینت دیباچه مجموعه مآثر سلاطین گردون توان شکر منعمیست که مبدعات عالم ثبات برخوان احسان اونواله ایست و رشحات سرچشمه حیات

and the final words are :—

ودراوان بعث و نشور بمقتضي کما تمو تون تحشرون او را با صدیقین و ارباب یقین محشور گردان پادشاها پروردگارا بارها گفته آم وبار دیگر میگویم

بیت

دران ساعت که ماهستیم وهوئی زبخشایش فرو مگذار موئی

Note B.

Abú Ríhán al Bírúní.

Abú Ríhán* Muhammed bin Ahmad al Bírúní al Khawárazmí, was born† about A. H. 360, A. D. 970-1. He was an Astronomer, Geometrician, Historian, Scholar and Logician. He was so studious that Shamsu-d-dín Muhammed Shahrazúrí, his earliest biographer, tells us "he never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eye ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, with the exception of

* Raihán would be more correct, according to the Kámús.

† The place of his birth is very doubtful. His earliest biographer is Shahrazúrí, who in his Tawáríkh-i Hukamá, written shortly after Bírúní's death, says that he was born at Bírún, in Sind, "a beautiful city full of excellent and marvellous things." He has been followed by Hájí Khalfa, by Ibn Abí Ossaibi'ah, and by Abú-l-fedá, on the authority of Ibn Saíd. M. Reinaud also states that he was a Sindian. Yet, where is this city of Bírún in Sind? There is a Nírún, or Nírún Kot, near the site of the present city of Haidarábád, corresponding in position with the Bírún indicated by Abú-l-fedá, which probably has had its first letter altered by a transposition of the vowel point. But M. Reinaud (p. 195) is distinct in condemning Capt. MacMurdo and other English writers who, following Edrísí, read Nírún for Bírún. Abú-l-fedá's reading cannot be disputed, for he not only gives, but describes the nature of, the diacritical point, and all that can be said against him is that he never was in India, and derived his information from others. (See *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, texte Arabe, p. 348.)

In the Kitábu-l-Ansáb by Sam'ání, a book of very great authority, written A. H. 562, A. D. 1166, Bírúní is derived from the Persian, and made to apply to any one born out of Khawárazm. Some authorities distinctly assert that he was born at Bírún, a town of Khawárazm, but I know not if the existence of such a town has been established. If Bírúní was really born in Sind, it is curious that in his Indian Geography he takes so little notice of his native country, and omits all mention of the town of his birth. Thus, though there is much improbablity in his being a Sindian, it is difficult to dispute the authorities on which he is stated to be one.

two days in the year, namely Nauroz and Mihrján, when he was occupied, according to the command of the Prophet, in procuring the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing."

He travelled into different countries to improve his knowledge, and is said to have staid forty years in India; but if we may judge from some errors which he has committed in his geographical description of the country, such as placing Muttra to the east of the Jumna, and Thanesar in the Dúáb, as already noticed in the Article BINA'KITI', it would appear that he never travelled to the east of Lahore. He was indebted to the Sultán of Khawárazm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Mahmúd and Mas'úd, kings of Ghazní and Lahore. Al-farábí and Abú-l-khair joined one of these embassies, but the famous Avicenna, who was invited to accompany them, refused to go, being, as it is said, averse to enter into controversy with Abú Ríhán, with whom he differed on many points of science, and whose logical powers he feared to encounter. Abú Ríhán died in A. H. 430, A. D. 1038-9.

He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek, and epitomised the Almagest of Ptolemy. His works are said to have exceeded a camel-load, insomuch that it was supposed by devout Muhammedans that he received divine aid in his

compositions. Those most spoken of are astronomical tables, a treatise on precious stones, an introduction to astrology, treatise on chronology, and the famous Cánún-i Mas'údí, a geographical work frequently cited by Abú-l-fedá, especially in his tables of Lat. and Long.

For this last work he received from the Emperor Mas'úd an elephant-load of silver which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury, "a proceeding contrary to human nature," according to the testimony of Shahrazúrí. Reiske in the Supplement to the *Bibl. Or.* gives the names of his works on the authority of Abí Ossaibi'ah. It will be seen hereafter that Abú-l-Fazl Baihakí attributes to him another work, noticed by M. Fraehn (*Indic. Bibl.* p. 28) namely, a "history of Khawárazm," and there is a manuscript of some portions of his works noticed by M. Hœnel, as existing in the Library of the Arsenal in Paris, which has not, as far as I am aware of, yet attracted any attention. It would appear to be the same as the one noticed by D'Herbelot, in the Article *Athar*. See Hœnel, *Catalogi Librorum MSS.* &c. p. 325.

But to the cultivator of Indian History the most valuable of all his works is the Táríkhu-l-Hind, an Arabic manuscript in the Royal Library, Paris. (Fonds Ducaurroy, No. 22.) Two chapters have been given from this work by M. Reinaud, in his "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs a l'Inde, antérieurement an xime. siècle de l'ère Chrétienne.*" It is evident

from the references made to other portions of the work that the learned professor of Arabic could not have done a more acceptable service to oriental literature than by persuading M. Munk, an able Arabic and Sanscrit scholar, to publish and translate the entire work, which we are informed is now in the press. It is not known at all in India, and M. Reinaud states that it is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical works in Arabic which have come under his observation.

The work treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century. It does not bear the name of the author, but we learn from it, that he accompanied Mahmúd of Ghazní; that he resided many years in India, chiefly in all probability in the Panjáb, studied the Sanscrit language, translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. This statement is confirmed by Abú-l-faraj, in his "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern authors." One of the treatises translated by him has the title of Patanjalí. He says, towards the end of his preface, "I have translated into Arabic two Indian works, one discusses the origin and quality of things which exist, and is entitled Sankya, the other is known under the title of Patanjalí, which treats of the deliverance of the soul from the trammels of the body. These two works contain the chief principles of the Indian creed."

Neither the original nor the translation of

Patanjalí has descended to us; but, as M. Reinaud observes, the declaration quoted in the preceding paragraph serves to indicate the author of the Táríkhu-l-Hind, which other circumstances would have rendered extremely probable. It so happens that in the lately discovered fragments of Rashídu-d-dín's history he quotes as one of the works to which he is indebted for his information, an Arabic version of Patanjalí made by al-Bírúní. Binákití also not only mentions this translation of the work, which he calls Patanjal, but says that Bírúní included the translation in the Cánún-i-Mas'údí, which would make it appear that the Táríkhu-l-Hind originally formed part of that work.*

The two chapters of his work, edited by M. Reinaud, relate to the Eras and Geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian, they establish another fixed epoch to which we can refer for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the Harivansa Purána, which the most accomplished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not

* M. Reinaud (p. 97) says of this work that "unfortunately it has not come down to us." It appears to have escaped him that nearly the entire first volume exists in the Bodleian Library, collated with the autograph of the author, and dated as far back as A. D. 1083. The contents of that volume are given in Drs. Nicoll's and Pusey's Catalogue, and they seem to confirm the probability that the "Táríkhu-l-Hind" is only a portion of the "Cánún-i Mas'údí. In the notes to that article the learned Doctors have surely taken very unnecessary trouble to write elaborate remarks upon Arín, اريں, which can be no other place than Ujain, in Malwa, which by the first Arabic authors was most probably written أزيں, as being more in conformity with Ptolemy, who calls it by the name of Ὀζήνη.

anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Bírúní's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five Siddhántas no longer admits of question, and thus the theories of Anquetil du Perron and Bentley are demolished for ever.*

The extract from Táríkhu-l-Hind given below is of great historical interest. The succession of the last princes of Cábul given there, though not in accordance with the statements of Mírkhond and other Persian historians, yet being dependent on the contemporary testimony of Bírúní, is of course more trustworthy than that of subsequent compilers, and is moreover confirmed by the Jámiu-t Tawáríkh. With respect to this table of succession, the ingenuity of the French Editor induced him to surmise that it probably represented a series of Bráhman princes who succeeded in subverting a Buddhist dynasty of Turks, and to whom should be attributed certain coins of a peculiar type which Numismatists had previously some difficulty in assigning to their true masters. M. A. Longpérier has confirmed this opinion by certain arguments which have been printed as an Appendix to M. Reinaud's work, and he has been ably followed by Mr. E. Thomas, B. C. S., who has published a paper in the "*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*" (Vol.

* Compare Sprenger's *Mas'údí*, p. 154. Casiri, *Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, Tom. i. p. 322. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Tom. i. pp. 45, 407, 496, and Tom. iv. pp. 697, 722. Greg. Abulfaragii *Hist. Dynast.* p. 229. Wüstenfeld, *Abulfedæ Tab. Geogr.* p. 77. *Biographie Univ.* s. v. De Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Arabi*, s. v. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bodl. Cod. MSS. Or. Cat. Arab.* pp. 263, 360—363, 552. Flügel, *De Interpretibus*, No. 76. Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Aerzte*, No. 129.

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ix. p. 194) respecting the proper attribution of this series. The result is that we are able to trace Bráhman kings of Cábul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A. D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals previous to Mahmúd's invasion.

In the same paper Mr. Thomas observes that the word Hamíra, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for among the Hindú kings of India, proves to be an abbreviation of the full title of the Khalif of Baghdád,—*Amír-ul-Múmenín*,—continued by the Muhammedans in this curtailed form from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazní money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. "The abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Srí Hámíra will be seen," says Mr. Thomas, "to be necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindí letters of the size it was the custom to employ." But this supposed abbreviation is disproved by examining the gold coins of Muhammed Ghorí, on one of which, in possession of Capt. A. Cunningham, Srí Hamír is ascribed as the title of the king, not of the Khalif. The legend on one side only (not on two sides) is *Srí Hamír Muhammed Sámí.* On the copper coins Srí Hamír is on the reverse, but the purport of the expression is fully shown by the position it occupies on the gold coins. The legend of Srí Samant Deo on many of this

series of coins, upon which so much stress is laid, as indicative of Samant's power as one of the chief founders of the dynasty, does not seem to have reference to that prince, but to be an honorary title assumed by the reigning prince, meaning the "fortunate warrior;" otherwise it certainly would not have been stamped on the coins of Prithí Ráj, who lived 250 years later, and was not, like Samant, a Bráhman, but a Chauhán Rájpút, and proud of his lineage.

EXTRACT.

Cábul was formerly governed by Princes of the Turkish race. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them, who was named Barkatzúr, dwelt, when he arrived at Cábul, in a cave, in which no one could enter except by crawling on all fours. The cave contained a spring, and he provided himself therein with food for some days. This cave is now well known by the name of Bakar, and is entered by those persons who wish to obtain the blessing which a visit to it is supposed to confer, and bring out some of the water, not without much difficulty. Groups of peasants used to labour near the entrance of the cave. Such a thing (as remaining in the cave without food) could not be practised without the connivance of some one. The people who were in league with Barkatzúr, engaged the peasants to labour without ceasing, relieving each other night and day, by which it happened that the place was constantly surrounded. After some days, Barkatzúr came all of a sudden out of the cave,* and the men who were near the entrance saw him appear as one just born, clothed as a Turk, with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot. He was looked upon as a wondrous person, and destined for empire. So he rendered himself master of the

* He seems to have imposed upon the credulous people by the same means which are even now practised in the west of India. Lieut. Boileau in his "*Personal narrative of a tour in Rajwarra,*" and Capt. Osborne in his "*Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing,*" give an account of a man who allowed himself to be interred for a month. The former is circumstantial in his account, and seems to yield faith to the statement of his narrators. It is not improbable that the ancients alluded to this practice when they spoke of Indians who lived without food, and in caves. Aulus Gellius speaks of them as "gentem, apud extrema Indiæ nullo cibatu vescentem." *Noct. Att.* ix. 4. See also Philostratüs, *Vit. Apoll.* iii. 45. Ctesiæ. *Indic. Excerpt.* xxiii.

kingdom of Cábul, which continued in his family for sixty generations.

The Indians attach little importance to the sequence of events, and neglect to record the dates of the reigns of their kings. When they are embarrassed, they are silent. I will here mention what I have heard some people of the country say. It is true, according to what I have heard, that the succession of these reigns was written on a piece of silk, which was found in the fortress of Nagarkote. I vehemently desired to read this writing, but different circumstances prevented me.

Among the number of these kings was Kanak,* who founded the Vihár at Pesháwar, which bears his name. It is said that the Rái of Canauj offered to this prince, among other presents, a piece of cloth of excellent texture, and of a new kind, of which Kanak wished to make a dress. But the tailor refused to make up the garment, saying, "I see the figure of a human foot, and notwithstanding all my endeavours, still the foot will come between the shoulders." This bears a relation to the story which I have elsewhere narrated in the legend of Bal.

Kanak understood that the Rái of Canauj intended to insult him, and to evince the small estimation in which he held him, so Kanak departed quickly with his army towards Canauj. At this news the Rái of Canauj was greatly embarrassed, not finding himself in a position to contend with the king of Cábul. He consulted with his minister, who said, "you have roused a man who was peaceably disposed, and an 'untoward act' has been committed. Now cut off my nose and lips, and mutilate me, that I may search out a way of practising some artifice, since there are no means of open resistance."

The Rái did as his minister advised, and allowed him to depart to the frontier. When the army of Cábul met the minister, he made himself known, and was conducted to the presence of Kanak, who demanded of him how he was reduced to that (pitiable) condition. He replied, "I endeavoured to dissuade the Rái from contending with you, and recommended him to make his submission, but, charging me with collusion, he mutilated me. If you march by the road which lies before you, you will find it long. You will more easily arrive at your destination by encountering the difficulties of the desert between him and us, provided you can carry with you a supply of water for a few days." Kanak said, "this is easy." So he took with him water, as recommended, and was guided on his way by the minister, who preceded him when he entered the boundless desert. When some days had elapsed, and the king knew not his way, he en-

* Capt. A. Cunningham states in a private communication that he hopes to be able to prove this Kanak of Bírúní to be identical with the Kanishka of the Bactrian coins, the Kani-kia of the Chinese, and the Kanaksen, from whom many Rájpút families trace their lineage.

quired of the minister, who replied, "No rebuke can attach to me for seeking to secure the safety of my master, and the destruction of his enemy. The nearest way to escape from the desert is that by which you entered it. Do to me as you wish, but none of you can escape alive from this desert." At these words Kanak mounted his horse, and urged it towards some low ground, in the midst of which he dug his spear, and water gushed out from it, which sufficed for the present and future wants of the whole army. Then the minister said to the king, "I did not intend to practice deceit upon powerful angels, but only upon weak men; and since things have so turned out, accept my intercession, and pardon my gracious master." Kanak replied, "I now retrace my way, and grant your solicitation. Your master has already received the punishment due to him." Upon this the king returned to his country, and the minister to his master the Rái. But on his arrival, he found that the Rái had been deprived of the use of his feet and hands, on the self-same day that Kanak had planted his spear in the ground.

The last of these kings was Laktúzamán, and his minister was Kalar, a Bráhman. * * * Laktúzamán's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains and imprisoned him for his correction. * * * So he established himself on the throne, and was succeeded by the Bráhman Samand, whose successor was Kamlúa, whose successor was Bhím, whose successor was Jaipál, whose successor was Anand Pál, whose successor was Naradjanpál, who ascended the throne A. H. 412. His son, Bhím Pál, succeeded him after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anand Pál wrote to Amír Mahmúd, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. "I have heard that the Turks have invaded your dominions: if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 Cavalry, 10,000 Infantry, and 100 Elephants; but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy."* This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmáns from the time that his son Naradjanpál was taken prisoner, but his son was, on the contrary, well disposed towards them.

* This is translated somewhat differently by M. Reinaud, but the version here given seems more in conformity with the original Arabic.

VIII.

خلاصة الاخبار

KHULA'SATU-L-AKHBA'R.

This work may be considered an abridgment of the Rauzatu-s-Safá. It was written by Mírkhond's son, Khondemír, whose full name is Ghaiásu-d-Dín Muhammed bin Humámu-d-Dín.* .

Khondemír was born at Herát about the year 880 H. for he states in the Preface to the Habíbu-s-Siyar, that when he commenced it in the year 927 H. he had advanced through seven or eight stages beyond the fortieth year of his life.

From his early youth he showed a predilection for history, and perused with indefatigable ardour books which treated of that science; and guided by the example and advice of his illustrious father, he prepared himself for the composition of some work by which he might attain equal celebrity. In this purpose he was assisted by the learned minister Alí Sher,† who, having collected a valuable library of the most esteemed works, placed our author

* I am not aware that Mírkhond was ever called by the name of Humámu-d-Dín during his life time. It might have been an honorific title given after his death. It is perhaps the use of this name which has made some authors suppose that Khondemír was not a son, but a nephew, of Mírkhond.

† See note C.

in charge of it. According to Hájí Khalfa, it was about the year 900* H. that Khondemír completed the Khulásatu-l-Akhbár, and at the close of it he gratefully acknowledges that, had it not been for Alí Sher's considerate kindness in placing him in charge of the library, he could not have completed in six years a tenth part of what he had concluded in as many months, and to that excellent minister he gratefully dedicated his work.

Khondemír was occasionally employed in a public capacity. In the year 909 H. when Sultán Badí'u-z-Zamán, resolved on repelling the Uzbeks, who were preparing to make an attack upon Khorásán, under the command of Muhammed Shaibání Khán, he despatched an embassy to Khusrú Sháh, the chief of Kunḍúz, in order to invite him to join the common cause, and to second the preparations which were making for the destruction of this formidable enemy. Our author joined this embassy, and was deputed by the head of the mission to convey certain important intelligence to the Sultán.

Under the reign of this Sultán, the last of the descendants of Timúr who sat on the throne of Persia, we find Khondemír appointed to the office of Sadr, or judge of the ecclesiastical court, a post which had been held by his uncle Nizámu-d-Dín Sultán Ahmad; and shortly after he was commissioned by the Sultán to proceed to Candahár, to induce its ruler to join the general

* But the author himself quotes A. H. 904.—A. D. 1498—in his Preface, as the time when Alí Sher's Library was placed at his disposal.

league; but the death of one of the Sultán's daughters at that time put a stop to his journey. Khorásán was soon invaded by the Uzbeks, and in the year 913, the capital itself, not being able to make any effectual resistance, offered terms of submission. Khondemír drew up the conditions, and his nephew was commissioned to negotiate the surrender.

Under the rule of the Uzbeks our author had to submit to great indignities, and he was not sorry to see it overthrown by the victorious arms of Sháh Ism'íl in 916, H. During the troubles of this period he went to reside at Basht, a village in Georgia, and there devoted his leisure to literary pursuits. While in this retreat he seems to have composed the Másiru-l-Malúk, the Akhbáru-l-Akhyár, the Dastúru-l-Vuzra,* the Makárimu-l-Akhlák and the Muntakhab Táríkh-i-Wassáf.†

After the death of this monarch A. H. 932, Khondemír seems to have found little inducement to reside in Persia, for in the year 935 H. he was introduced to the emperor Báber at Agra, and that monarch and our author concur in

* This is not an uncommon work in India, forming a 4to Volume containing 234 pages of 19 lines each. Another of the same nature, entitled Irshádu-l-Vuzra, is by Sadru-d-dín Muhammed, written in India in the reign of Muhammed Sháh.

† These works are mentioned as the author's in the Preface to the Habíbu-s-Siyar. The Akhbáru-l-Akhyár, which is also the name of a work on the Saints by Abdu-l-Hakk Dehlíví, is in the copy consulted by M. Quatremère, and in one I obtained from Haiderábád, but omitted from three other copies which I have examined, and in which the two last works mentioned in the text are added. I have seen also another work ascribed to Khondemír, called the Gharáibu-l-Asrár. These, together with the Jawáhiru-l-Akhbár and the Habíbu-s- Siyar, which are noticed in the two succeeding Articles, are a sufficient evidence of our author's industry, as well as of the versatility of his talents.

mentioning the very day of the interview. At the conclusion of the first volume of the Habíbu-s-Siyar he tells us, "Under the unavoidable law of destiny, the writer was compelled in the middle of Shawál 933, H. to leave Herát, his dear home (may it ever be protected from danger!) and bend his steps towards Candahár. On the 10th of Jamádu-s-sání, 934 H. he undertook a hazardous journey to Hindústán, which, in consequence of the great distance, the heat of the weather, the setting in of the rainy season, and the broad and rapid rivers which intervened, it took him seven months to complete. On Saturday, the 4th of Muharram, 935 H. he reached the metropolis of Agra, and on that day had the good fortune to strengthen his weak eyes with the antimonial dust of the high threshold of the Emperor, the mention of whose name in so humble a page as this would not be in conformity with the principles of respect. He was allowed without delay to kiss the celestial throne, which circumstance exalted him so much, that it placed the very foot of his dignity over the heads of the Great and Little Bears in the Heavens."

He accompanied the Emperor on his expedition to Bengál, and upon his death attached himself to Humáyún, in whose name he wrote the Kanún-i Humáyúní, which is quoted by Abú-l Fazl in the Akbernáma. He accompanied that monarch to Guzerát, and died in his camp in the year 941 H. aged 61 or 62 years. At his own desire his body was conveyed to Dehli, and he

was buried by the side of Nizámu-d-Dín Aulyá and Amír Khusrú.* For the saint and the poet he entertained a high veneration, and of both he speaks in most eulogistic terms in the Habíbu-s-Siyar.

The Khulásatu-l-Akhbár is a most able compendium of Asiatic History, brought down to A. H. 875—A. D. 1471—but events are recorded in it as late as A. D. 1528. It is held in high repute both in Asia and Europe. A portion of the first book has been translated in the first volume of the *Asiatic Miscellany*, and the history of the Saljúkians has been given in original, with a French translation, by M. Dumoret, in the *Nouv. J. As.* xiii. pp. 240—256. Major Price is largely indebted to it, in his *Retrospect of Muhammedan History* and his *History of Arabia*, and D'Herbelot's† obligations to it are still greater.

The Chapters relating to the Ghaznevides, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli, are contained in the VIIIth Book, and the Indian occurrences are narrated down to A. H. 717—A. D. 1317. But we derive no information from his short abstract, he himself referring for fuller accounts to the Tabakát-i-Násirí, the Táríkh-i-Wassáf, and the Rauzatu-s-Safá.

The Khulásatu-l-Akhbár comprises an Introduction, ten Books, and a Conclusion.

* See *Journal des Savants*, 1843, p. 386—393.

† This author commits the error of attributing the work to Mírkhond, in which he has been blindly followed by several others.

CONTENTS.

Introduction—Gives an account of the creation of the world, the deluge, Jinn, Iblís, &c. pages 5—13.

Book I.—The History of the Patriarchs and Prophets, pp. 13—116.

Book II.—Of Philosophers and illustrious personages, pp. 117—123.

Book III.—Of the ancient kings of Irán and adjacent countries, pp. 123—212.

Book IV.—Of Muhammed and his conquests, pp. 212—285.

Book V.—Of the twelve Imáms and the descendants of Alí, pp. 285—346.

Book VI.—Of the Ummayide Khalifs, pp. 347—399.

Book VII.—Of the Abbáside Khalifs, pp. 390—460.

Book VIII.—Of the kings who were contemporary with the Abbásides, and of a few subsequent to them, pp. 460—579.

Book IX.—Of the posterity of Japhet, the life of Changez Khán and his successors, pp. 579—624.

Book X.—The history of Timúr, and of his descendants who reigned in Khorásán to A. D. 1471, pp. 624—680.

Conclusion.—Description of Herát—Memoirs of its celebrated inhabitants, pp. 680—743.

SIZE—Large 8vo.—743 pp. of 19 lines each.

EXTRACT

Regarding the slaves of the Ghorian Kings, who attained regal dignity.

Sultán Shahábu-d-dín took considerable delight in purchasing Turkish slaves and educating them. He bestowed the Government of the territories of Kermán and Túrán, dependencies of Sind, upon one of his slaves named Táju-d-dín Yelduz, who, upon the death of Sultán Shahábu-d-dín, ascended the throne of Ghazní. He reigned a short time, and in a war with Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish,* King of Dehli, was taken prisoner and put to death.

Kutbu-d-dín Eibek was likewise one of the slaves of Shahábu-d-dín. He was distinguished for his great courage and liberality. Having had the reins of the Government of Dehli entrusted to him by the Sultán, he prosecuted many religious wars in India, the particulars of some of which are recorded in the Táju-l-Másir. Kutbu-d-dín Eibek ruled twenty years, during fourteen years of which period he was completely independent of the Sultán, and had the Khutba read in his own name.

* Ritter and Briggs read *Altmish*, V. Hammer *Itilmish*.

Upon his death, his son Árám Sháh ascended the throne, but, owing to his want of ability he was deposed after a few days, and was succeeded by Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Eibek.

Malik Násiru-d-dín Kabách, after the death of his master Sultán Shahábu-d-dín, took possession of Uch, Múltán, and several towns in Sind.

When Changez Khán committed great depredations and massacres in Persia, the people of Khorásán sought refuge in great numbers in the territories of Násiru-d-dín, under whose protection they were treated with great munificence and consideration.

Malik Násiru-d-dín, in the latter years of his reign, assumed a hostile attitude towards Sultán Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish. The latter marched his army towards Uch and Múltán. Násiru-d-dín was defeated and fled to the Fort of Bakar, whence, on receiving intelligence of the intended attempt on that Fort by the Wazír of Shamsu-d-dín, named Nizámu-l-Mulk Muhammed, son of Abú Saíd, he tried to effect his escape in a boat, and thus emerge from that whirlpool to the shore of safety, but he was nevertheless drowned in the sea of mortality, i. e. died in the attempt.

Some say Sultán Shamsu-d-dín was one of the slaves of Sultán Shahábu-d-dín; others again say he was one of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek's slaves. However this may be, it is certain that, after the death of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, the kingdom devolved upon Shamsu-d-dín, who administered even-handed justice for twenty-six years, conquered a great number of forts and territories in India, and died in 633 A. H.

The Jámiu-l-Hikaiát, which was dedicated to Wazír Nizámu-l-Mulk Muhammed, son of Abú Saíd, was composed during the reign of this king.

Sultán Ruknu-d-dín Feroze Sháh, son of Shamsu-d-dín Iltmish, ascended the throne, and was exceedingly liberal in his largesses and donations, but in consequence of his inordinate addiction to wine, he altogether disgusted and alienated the nobles and ministers of the state. They were at length compelled to seize and put him in prison. He reigned only seven months.

In Europe there are several good copies of this work, of which the best known are those of St. Petersburgh, Vienna, the British Museum and Sir W. Ouseley.* The work is common in India. In the Asiatic Society's Library there

* Von Hammer-Purgstall, in noticing these in the *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde in Russland*, p. xxiv. has failed to observe his usual accuracy.

is an excellent Manuscript, but by far the most beautiful copy I have seen is in the possession of Muhammed Razíu-d-dín, chief native Judge of Ilhábád, though a little defective at the end.

The Khulásatu-l-Akhbár opens thus, according to all the copies examined.

خلاصه کلمات راویان اخبار و انبیاء عالیمقدار و نقاوه نشات واقفان
اثار سلاطین ذوی الاقتدآر حمد و ثنای خالقیت که از خزانه
عطي کل شئي خلقه هریک از احاد کاینات را بخلعت خلقتی
موصوف ساخت و از جامه خانه انا جعلنا کل شئي بقدر
هر فردی از افراد ممکنات را به تشریف کرامتی بنواخت

بیت

همه کس خلعتے هستي ازو یافت * فلک بالا زمین پستي ازو یافت

and concludes thus, according to two perfect Manuscripts.

والي قیومة الساعة و ساعة القیام از رشحات سحاب فضل و اکرام
باران جود و احسان و اقطار امطار بر وجود عاقبت محمودش
سبب رفاهیت مسلمان بیار

همیشه باد تراعمر درحصول مراد * بعز و ناز چو دوران چرخ نامعدود
تراست حارث وحافظ عنایت ازلي * تراست حامي وناصر پناه رب ودود

Note C.

Mír Alí Sher.

Mír Alí Sher, or Alí Sher Amír, the enlightened minister of Súltán Husain of Persia, was born about A. H. 844.—A. D. 1440.

Mír Alí Sher was of an illustrious family of the Chagatáí tribe. His father, Bahádar, who was a man of deep learning and science, and whose chief pride it was to give a finished education to his children, held one of the principal offices of government during the reign of Sultán Abú-l-Kásim Báber, son of Timúr, and Alí Sher was himself employed at court, having ingratiated himself with this prince so much, as to obtain from him the title of son. He was admitted to this favor by means of his literary accomplishments, and especially by the display of his talent as a composer of Turkish and Persian verse. When this prince died, Mír Alí Sher retired to Meshed, and subsequently to Samarcand, where he devoted himself to study. Sometime afterwards, Sultán Husain Bahádar Khán, having made himself master of Khorásán, invited Mír Alí Sher, with whom he had been educated, and for whom he entertained a great affection, for the purpose of entrusting to him the administration of the Government.

After being employed in the capacity of Díwán and Minister for some time, love of study induced him to resign, but Husain prevailed upon him to accept the government of Asterábád, which also proving too busy an occupation for one of his literary tastes, he resigned it after a short period, and bidding a final adieu to public life, passed the remainder of his days in composing Turkish and Persian works, of which Sám Mírzá recounts the names of no less than twenty-one. Though himself an ambitious author, he was far from being jealous of the accomplishments of others, and proved himself one of the most eminent patrons of literature. Daulat Sháh, the biographer, Mírkhond and Khondemír, the historians, dedicated their works to him, and amongst other men of genius who were cherished by his liberality, may be mentioned the celebrated poet Jámí. He patronized also sculpture and architecture, and several edifices dedicated to religion and humanity were raised at his sole expense. He was also very partial to music, and himself composed several pieces of merit, which are said still to maintain their credit.

His collection of Odes in the Chagatáí, or pure Turkish dialect, which he wrote under the poetical title of Nuáí, amounts to ten thousand couplets, and his parody of Nizámí's five poems, containing nearly thirty thousand couplets, is universally admired by the cultivators of Turkish poetry, in which he is considered to be without a rival.

In the Persian language also he wrote a collection of Odes, under the poetical title of Fanáí, from which Hájí Lutf Alí, in his Ātish-kadah, has selected the following as a beautiful specimen.

"O you who say 'dont curse Yezíd, for possibly the Almighty may have had mercy on him.' I say, if the Lord pardoneth all the evil which Yezíd did to the Prophet's descendants, He will also pardon you, who may have cursed him."

Alí Sher died A. H. 906—A. D. 1500,—five years before his royal friend and master, Sultán Husain Mírzá, and Khondemír has recorded the date in an affectionate chronogram :—

"His highness, the Amír, the asylum of divine guidance, in whom all the marks of mercy were conspicuous, has quitted the thorny brake of the world, and fled to the rose-garden of pity. Since the 'light of mercy' has descended on his soul, those words represent the day of his departure."*

* Compare S. de Sacy, *Mém sur div. antiq. de la Perse.* M. Quatremère, *Journ. des Savants,* 1843, p. 387. *Gesch. d. sch. Red. Pers.* p. 310. *Notices et extraits des MSS.* Tom. iv. 246, 290. ix. 121. *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K. s. v. *Journ. Asiatique,* Jan. 1842, p. 70. Sir G. Ouseley, *Notices of Persian Poets,* pp. 50—53.

IX.

دستور الوزرا

DASTÚRU-L-WUZRÁ.

This biographical account of famous Asiatic Ministers is by the same author, and may fairly claim a place among the General Histories. There is a later and shorter work on the same subject, by Sadru-d-dín Muhammed, son of Zabardast Khán, written in Muhammed Sháh's reign, under the name of Irshádu-l-wuzrá. Both works are to be found in the Farah-bakhsh Library at Lakhnau.

EXTRACTS.

There were ten Wazírs of note during the reigns of the Ghaznevides.

Abú-l-'Abbás Fazl bin Ahmed Isfaráíní.

In the beginning of his career he was secretary to Fáik, one of the nobles of the Sámání court, and upon his death, attached himself to Amír Násir-u-dín Sabuktigín; and when that king went to Paradise, his son Mahmúd appointed Abú-l-'Abbás Fazl to the post of Wazír. It is related in the Jámiu-t-Tawárikh that Abú-l-Fazl was neither a man of learning, nor of good manners: that he was ignorant of the Arabic language, but was a good practical officer, and in administrative capacity had not his equal. God had given him a son called Hajjáj, who was blessed with such an excellent disposition and endowed with such extraordinary mental faculties, that he surpassed all his contemporaries. He composed most excellent Arabic verses, and was a perfect master of the traditionary sayings of the prophet, and many people have quoted his authority as unexceptionable.

When Abú-l-'Abbás had been minister for ten years, the star of his destiny fell from the firmament of prosperity to the pit of

adversity. Some historians have thus related the cause of his dismissal:—

Sultán Mahmúd had an intense love for slaves (possessing faces as fair as that of the planet Jupiter.) Fazl bin Ahmed followed his example, which accords with the saying, that "men follow the opinion of their master." Fazl, on hearing the reputation of the beauty of a boy in Turkistán, deputed a confidential person to purchase that boy (whose countenance was beautiful as that of the planet Venus), and bring him to Ghaznín, according to the mode of conveyance usually adopted for a female. When an informer represented to the king these circumstances, as well as the successful issue of the deputation, his most august Majesty demanded that slave (whose colour was as white as silver) from the minister (whose glory and dignity were raised as high as the planet Mercury.) The minister made evasive replies and pertinaciously refused to part with the slave, notwithstanding His Majesty's absolute power. The king one night visited the minister at his house, where the minister did him homage and treated him with a hospitality due to the dignity of a sovereign. When at length the slave (who looked as beautiful as a virgin of paradise,) came into the presence of the king, high words passed between him and his minister, and so greatly was the king's anger kindled, that he issued orders to seize the minister and plunder his house. After the king's departure for Hindústán, certain evil-disposed Amírs tortured the minister so severely with a rack that he lost his life. No individual can rescue his "life from the oppression of fate. Fate cannot be regarded as uniform in the dispensation of her favors."

Ahmed bin Hasan Maimandí.

He was a foster-brother and a fellow-student of Sultán Mahmúd. His father Hasan Maimandí, during the life time of Amír Násiru-d-dín Sabaktigín, was employed as Díwán at Kasbah Bust, but Amír Násiru-d-dín was led by the secret machinations of his enemies to entertain an unfavorable opinion of him. Hasan however did not live long. It is recorded by some that he was one of the ministers of Sultán Mahmúd. This statement is altogether incorrect and unfounded, as it is not maintained by any great historian.

Ahmed bin Hasan, in consequence of his beautiful handwriting, excellent qualities, proficiency in eloquence and great wisdom, became the most conspicuous man of his time and was regarded with affection by several eminent persons. The king, taking him into favor, appointed him secretary, and continued to promote him, time after time, to higher dignities, till at last he was nominated the chief legal authority of the state, as well as invested with the superintendence of the concerns of the army.

A short time after, he was entrusted with the additional duty of conducting the affairs of Khorásán. All these offices he discharged in such a satisfactory manner, that no one could exceed his capacity for administrative duties. At length the king conferred on him the office of minister, when Abú-l-'Abbás Isfaráíní incurred his displeasure. He held the office of minister without any control for a period of eighteen years, when a number of Amírs, such as Áltútíásh, the chamberlain, Amír Alí Kheshá-wand and others, brought before the court of the king false charges against him, during his absence, which according to the saying that "whatever is listened to will make an impression on the mind," did not fail to have its due effect on the heart of the king; so that the minister in consequence was deposed, and imprisoned in one of the forts of Hind, from which he was released by Sultán Mas'úd, on his ascending the throne of Ghaznín after the death of his father Sultán Mahmúd, and re-instated in the responsible office of minister, which he held again for a long period. He died in the year 444 A. H. "It is finally ordained as the lot of all creatures, that nobody should live for ever in this world."

Abú Alí Husain bin Muhammed, alias Hasnak Mekál.

From his early youth he was in the service of Sultán Mahmúd. He was very agreeable in his conversation, well-behaved, energetic and quick in apprehension, but he was not a good writer, nor was he well versed in arithmetic and accounts.

It is recorded in the Rauzatu-s-safá, that when Sultán Mahmúd, in accordance with the solicitation of Núh bin Mansúr Sámání, was on his march to Khorásán against Abú Alí Samjúr, it was represented to him, that there was, in the neighbourhood of the place where he was then encamped, a Darvesh distinguished for abstinence and devotion, as well as for the performance of miracles and supernatural deeds, and called "Záhid Áhúposh" (a devotee wearing a deer-skin.) The king, as he had a firm belief in the power of Darveshes, felt most anxious to pay him a visit, and expressed a desire that Hasnak Mekál should follow him, though the king was aware that he had no faith in that class. Hasnak Mekál however placed the finger of compliance upon his eye, and accompanied him. The king, on his visit to the Dervesh, heard him speak on the mysteries of divinity, and then offered to bestow money upon him or any other article of which he might stand in need. The devout man stretched forth his arm, uttering the mystic syllable "Hu," and placed a handful of coins in the palm of the king, with the remark that whoever could draw such wealth from an invisible treasury had no need of the treasure of this world. The king handed those coins to

Hasnak, who found that they were struck in the name of Abú Alí Samjúr. The king on his way back asked Hasnak how he could refuse to accord his belief in such miracles as this. Hasnak answered, that whatever the king observed in respect to miracles was very correct and proper, but at the same time he would suggest that His Majesty should not venture to contend against a man in whose name the coins had been struck in an invisible world. The king asking him whether indeed the coins were struck in the name of Abú Alí, he showed them to him; upon which the king was astonished and put to the blush.

In fact, Hasnak was a constant attendant of the king, whether on journeys or at home. The circumstances which led to his appointment to the office of chief minister are as follows:

On the dismissal of Ahmed bin Hasan from the post, the king issued orders to the other ministers for the nomination of some great man to fill up that office. The ministers accordingly nominated Abú-l-Kásim, Abú-l-Husain Akbalí, Ahmed bin 'Abdu-s-Samad and Hasnak Mekál, and sent their names to the king to make his selection. The king in reply observed that the appointment of Abú-l-Kásim to the office of minister would interfere with his present duty of 'Áriz; that it would be impolitic to confer this office on Abú-l-Husain Akbalí, as he was too avaricious; that Ahmed bin 'Abdu-s-Samad was indeed fit for this post, but he had been entrusted with the duty of arranging the important affairs of Khwárazm; and that Hasnak, though he was of a good family and had a quicker apprehension than the rest, yet his youthful age offered an obstacle to his appointment. The Amírs, on weighing these sentiments of His Majesty, concluded that he was inclined to nominate Hasnak his minister. They therefore unanimously represented to the king that preference should be given to Hasnak Mekál. The king, in compliance with their recommendation, appointed Hasnak to the office of minister. This post he held during the reigns of the king and his son Sultán Muhammed, who did not interrupt his enjoyment of all the powers delegated to him by his father. Hasnak, with the view of ingratiating himself with Sultán Muhammed, frequently made use of disrespectful language, in speaking of Sultán Mas'úd, who was then in Irák; insomuch, that one day in full court he expressed his apprehensions that when Sultán Mas'úd ascended the throne he would empale him (Hasnak). Accordingly, when Sultán Mas'úd came to Khorásán, and took possession of the dominions of Sultán Muhammed, he summoned Hasnak, (and inflicted condign punishment on him.)

Size—4to:—234 pages, each containing 19 lines.

X.

حبيب السير

HABÍBU-S-SIYAR.

This famous history is also by Khondemír, and was written subsequent to the Khulásatu-l-Akhbár, and in a much more extended form, though Stewart (*Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 4) strangely characterizes it as an abridgment of that work.

The Habíbu-s-Siyar was written at the desire of Muhammed al Husainí, who wished to have the facts of universal history collected into one volume. He died shortly after the work was begun, and the troubles which ensued induced our author for some time to suspend his labours, until an introduction to Karímu-d-Dín Habíb-ullah, a native of Ardebíl, encouraged him to prosecute them again with ardour. Habíb-ullah was a great cultivator of knowledge; all his leisure hours were devoted to its acquisition, and he was particularly partial to history. It was after the name of this new patron that he entitled his work Habíbu-s-Siyar. It may be supposed that, as he travels over nearly the same ground as his father, he has made great use of the Rauzatu-s-Safá, of which in

many parts he offers a mere abridgment, but he has added the history of many Dynasties omitted in that work, and the narrative is generally more lively and interesting. He has added, moreover, the lives of the celebrated men who flourished during each period that he brings under review.

The Habíbu-s-Siyar was commenced in A. H. 927, when the author was about 48 years of age. It is not known in what year it was completed, but M. Quatremère (*Journ. d. Savans*, 1843, p. 393) has noticed that the year 930 is mentioned in it, and that the occurrences of Persian History are brought down to that time;—but Khondemír perhaps continued his labours long after that period, even down to 935 H., because in an interesting passage at the close of the first volume, of which part has already been quoted in a preceding article, he says, "Be it known unto the intelligent and enlightened minds of readers that the writing of these histories which form the first volume of Habíbu-s-Siyar, has been completed for the third time by the movement of the fingers of the composer, according to the saying that "a thing attaineth perfection on its third revisal." The compiler, while on his travels in Hindustán, finished this volume to the entire satisfaction of all his friends, "stopping every day and every night at a different place." The pen, whose production is as sweet as a parrot's imitation of human speech, and which, by dipping into the ink like a diver into the sea, brings forth to light

different narratives as precious gems from the dark caves of the deep, and displays them to the world, threads certain remarkable incidents as valuable pearls in the following manner.

"The writer had not been long in Hindustán when he fell sick, and became weaker day by day. The regimen which he underwent for three or four months, with respect to drink and light food, as well as medicines, proved ineffectual, so that he was reduced to so slender a skeleton, that even the morning breeze was capable of wafting him to a different country. Heat consumed his body as easily as flame melts a candle. At length Providence bestowed upon him a potion for the restoration of his health from that dispensary, where "When thou fallest sick, it is he that cureth thee." The compiler lifted up his head from his sick bed, as the disposer of all things opened the doors of convalescence towards his life. At this time under the shadow of the victorious standard of his august Majesty, Báber, (may God maintain his kingdom till the day of judgment!) the compiler had occasion to proceed to Bengál, and at every march where there was the least delay, he devoted his time to the completion of this volume, which was finished at Tírmuháná, near the confluence of the Sarjú and Ganges.*

* This, therefore, must have been written about May 1529, shortly after the dispersion of the army of Kherid, the position of which tract is correctly given by Mr. Erskine, though with a slight error as to the limits. Mr. Caldecott, his epitomator, makes Kherid a General, and speaks of the army *under* Kherid. (See Leyden and Erskine's *Memoirs of Baber*, p. 411, and Caldecott's *Life of Baber*, p. 230.)

This passage is taken from a copy written A. H. 1019, but I cannot trace it in any other, all of which end with the verses which precede this Conclusion; and it was most probably not in the copy consulted by Mr. Quatremère, or it could scarcely have escaped the penetration of that learned scholar. It seems, therefore, to have been a postscript written for his Indian friends, and the work which he imposed upon himself may, after all, have been the mere copying, for the third time, of that which he had already composed.

It has been hitherto customary to translate the name of this History as the "Friend of Travelling,"* under the impression that the name of the original is *Habíbu-s-Sair*, but it has been shown by M. Von Hammer and Baron de Sacy (*Not. et Extr.* IX. ii. 269) that *Siyar* is the word, signifying "biographies, lives." The reason advanced for this is, that the clause, "fí akhbár-i-afrádu-l-bashar," follows immediately after the title; and rythmical propriety, so much studied amongst Orientals, demands that the word should therefore be *Siyar*, rather than *Sair*. Further confirmation of the correctness of this view will be found in the third line of the conclusion given below, where "Habíbu-s-Siyar" follows immediately after "Arjimandu-l-asar," showing that two syllables are necessary to compose the word *Siyar*. The entire name signifies, "The Friend of Biographies, com-

* D'Herbelot says, "c'est ce que nous appellons dans l'usage du vulgaire un *Veni mecum*."—*Bibl: Orient.* v. Habib al Seir.

prising the history of persons distinguished among men."

The Hábíbu-s-Siyar contains an Introduction (Iftitáh), three Books (Mujellad), each subdivided into four Chapters (Juzv), and a Conclusion (Ikhtitám).

CONTENTS.

The Introduction contains the history of the creation of heaven and of earth, as well as of its inhabitants.

Book I.—Contains the history of the Prophets, Philosophers, and Kings who existed before the dawn of Islámism, with some account of Muhammed and the first Khalifs.—860 pages.

Chapter 1.—The history of the Prophets and Philosophers.

Chapter 2.—The history of the kings of Persia and Arabia.

Chapter 3.—An account of Muhammed.

Chapter 4.—The events which occurred in the time of the four first Khalifs.

Book II.—Contains the history of the twelve Imáms, the Ummayides, Abbásides, and those Kings who were contemporary with the Abbásides—710 pages.

Chapter 1.—An account of the twelve Imáms.

Chapter 2.—The events which occurred in the time of the Ummayides.

Chapter 3.—An account of the events which occurred in the time of the Abbásides.

Chapter 4.—Gives an account of several Kings who were contemporary with the Abbásides.

Book III.—Contains the history of several other dynasties—784 pages.

Chapter 1.—An account of the kings of Turkistán, and of the reigns of Changez Khán and his descendants.

Chapter 2.—The history of the Kings contemporary with Changez Khán.

Chapter 3.—Gives an account of Timúr and his descendants, down to the time of the author.

Chapter 4.—An account of his patron, the reigning monarch.

The Conclusion mentions the wonders of the world, with a brief account of learned and holy men, poets, &c.

SIZE—Small Folio, of 2318 pages, with 20 lines to a page.

The parts relating to India are the sections on the Ghaznevides, the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli down to the death of Aláu-d-Dín.

Timúr's invasion is described at great length, but the Tughlak dynasty is not mentioned.

The work is very rarely met with in a perfect state, but single Books and Chapters abound every where.

EXTRACTS.

The three cities of Dehli, viz. Sirrí, Jahánpanáh and old Dehli, which were contiguous to one another, having been all equally sacked, and the circumstance communicated to His Majesty (Timúr,) orders, worthy of all obedience, were issued to the effect, that all the artificers and designers, that were to be found among the prisoners, should be liberated and distributed among the princes, for employment by them in their respective territories, and the stone-cutters reserved for the private service of the king, in order that, accompanying him in his royal progress to Samarkand, they might be employed there in building a Jama Masjid.

On the subject of certain other victories gained by Amír Timúr, Gúrgán, and his return to Samarkand.

After the world-enlightening standards of Amír Timúr had halted fifteen days at Dehli, they left that city on the 24th Rabíu-l-ákhir to proceed to other places in India, and the news of his departure was spread abroad throughout the world.

When he was encamped at Wazírábád, a mission from Bahádar Nahár, the ruler of Laháwar, waited upon His Majesty, and offered him* two parrots, which had amused the Courts of the Kings of India, from the reign of Sultán Tughlak Sháh, by their wonderful imitation of human speech. The king was pleased to accept this handsome present. He then crossed the Jumna, and arrived at Kanah, where Bahádar Nahár, accompanied by his son Kaltásh, did him homage, and having offered a suitable present, was treated with every courtesy and kindness.

The Amír Timúr, Gúrgán, afterwards proceeded from Kanah to Daulatábád, the most populous city of India, and after a stay of two days at that place, marched against the Fort of Mírat, which is one of the most celebrated in India. Maulá Ahmad, Bahár Sabzí and Safí Gabr† had possession of the Fort at the time. As

* In the original, Timúr is designated in this passage, "the falcon of the hill of intelligence."

† The Rauzatu-s-Safá gives these names as Ilyás Ughání, and the son of Maulánà Ahmad of Thanesar, and Safí Gabr, or Kabír.

they had become refractory, His Majesty, when he reached the place at the end of Rabíu-l-ákhir, gave them battle, took the city of Mírat by storm, and putting Safí Gabr to the sword, despatched him to hell, and ordered his son to be burned in the fire which he worshipped.

"Though a fire-worshipper kindle fire and adore the element for a hundred years, yet if he fall into it, it will consume him in a moment."

On the 1st of Jamádu-l-awwal, the greater part of the fire-worshippers who were in the Fort, were slain by the hands of the Muhammedans, and on the Fort being razed to the ground, the Emperor proceeded to the banks of the Ganges, to wage a religious war against the Infidels. Several battles were fought here, and many Infidels were slain and despatched to hell on the banks of that river, and at the pass of Kopila (Goumukha?), to which places Timúr advanced the standard of Islám.

The Habíbu-s-Siyar has not met with so many translators as the Rauzatu-s-Safá. Major Price has abstracted a portion of it in his "Chronological Retrospect," and the tragic events of Karbalá have been translated in the "Oriental Quarterly Review." The History of the Mongols has been translated by M. Grigorieff. St. Petersburg, 1834, 8vo.

Five good copies concur in giving the opening lines of the Habíbu-s-Siyar thus :—

ربنا اتنا من فضلک رحمة وهي من امرنا رشدا
لطایف اخبار والالي اثار انبیاء عالي مقدار و شرایف اثار معالي
دثار سلاطین ذوالاقتدار ارجمند الاثر حبیب السیر وقتی تواند بود
که موشح باشد بحمد و ثنای واجب الوجودی

The third volume, like the other two, with the single exception noted above, concludes with poetry, of which the last lines are :—

براور گل معرفت از کلم منور کن از نور عرفان دلم
بارقام اسلام ده اختتام کتاب بنای مرا و اسلام

XI.

تاريخ ابراهيمي

TÁRÍKH-I-IBRÁHÍMÍ.

A work under this title is described by Major Charles Stewart, as an abridged history of India from the earliest times to the conquest of that country by Sultán Báber. It is mentioned as a quarto volume in the collection of Típú Sultán. The author's name is given as Ibráhím bin Harire, and the work was dedicated to Sultán Báber, A. D. 1528. (See Stewart's *Descriptive Catalogue*, &c. p. 13.)

Under this name the more famous history of Ferishta is frequently quoted by native historians, in consequence of its having been compiled under the patronage of Ibráhím Ádil Sháh of Bíjápúr, but I have never met the work quoted by Stewart, nor heard of its existence in any library in India.

XII.

لب ال تواريخ

LUBBU-T-TAWARI'KH.

This "Marrow of History" is a general Asiatic Chronicle of considerable repute in Europe and Asia. It has been translated into Latin by MM. Gaulmin and Galland, and Pietro de la Valle declared his intention of translating it into Italian. Whether he ever executed his task I know not, but in one of his letters, dated 1621, he says "Di tradur da Persiano in Toscano un libro che chiamano *Midolla delle Historie*, et e un breve compendio della historia di tutti i Re della Persia da Adam infin' a Sciah Tahmasp." It is also frequently quoted by the authors of the Universal History, and by D'Herbelot, as *Leb Tarik*.

The author of this work was Yahiá bin Abdu-l Latíf al Husainí of Kazwín, who composed it in A. D. 1541. Hájí Khalfa gives his name as Ism'íl bin Abdu-l-Latíf; and in the Másiru-l-Umrá, he is called Mír Yahyá Husainí Saifi.

The author of that excellent work describes him as a well known theologian and philosopher, who had acquired such extraordinary profici-

ency in the knowledge of history, that he was fully acquainted with the date of every event which had occurred from the establishment of the Muhammedan religion to his own time.

In the opening of his career he was patronized by Sháh Tahmásp Saffaví, by whom he was called Yahyá M'súm, and was treated by the king with such distinction, that his enemies, envious of his good fortune, endeavoured to poison his patron's mind against him, by representing that he and his son, Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, were the leading men among the Sunnís of Cazvín.

They at last prevailed so far as to induce the king, when he was on the borders of Azarbáíján, to order Mír Yahyá and his son, together with their families, to be imprisoned at Ispahán. At that time, his second son, Aláu-d-Daulah, known by the name of Kámí, the author of the work called Nafáisu-l-Másir, was in Azarbáíján, and sent off a special messenger to convey this intelligence to his father. Mír Yahyá, being too old and infirm to fly, accompanied the king's messenger to Ispahán, and died after one year and nine months, in A. H. 962,* at the age of 77 years.

Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, however, immediately on receipt of his brother's communication, fled to Gílán; and afterwards, at the invitation of the Emperor Humaiyún, went to Hindustán; but, intermediately, that Emperor had departed this

* This is the date according to the Másiru-l-Umrá; other authorities fix it two years earlier, A. H. 960—A. D. 1552-3.

life, so that he arrived at Court with his family, after Akbar had ascended the throne. By him he was received with great kindness and consideration, and was appointed, in the second year of the reign, as his preceptor. At that time the prince knew not how to read and write, but shortly afterwards he was able to repeat some odes of Háfiz. The Mír, says his biographer, was a man of great eloquence and of excellent disposition, and so moderate in his religious sentiments, that each party used to revile him for his indifference.

When Bairam Khán had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, and had left Agra, and proceeded to Alwar, with the intention, as it was supposed, of exciting a rebellion in the Panjáb, the Emperor sent the Mír to him, in order to dissuade him from such an open breach of fidelity to his sovereign.

The Mír died at Síkrí in A. H. 971. As he bore the same name as his grandfather, another source of confusion has arisen respecting the name of our author.

His eldest son, Mír Ghaiásu-d-Dín Alí, was also endowed with an excellent disposition, and served Akbar for a long period.

In the 19th year of the reign, he accompanied the Emperor to Patna, and in the 21st, was appointed to command an expedition against the Zemíndár of I'dar. In the same year, Abd-u-l-Kádir recounts a sad accident which befell Ghaiásu-d-Dín at a game of Chaugán, in which he and his brother, Mír Sharífu-d-Dín, when

opposed, charged each other with such force, that the latter was killed by the concussion. When Akbar dismounted to ascertain what had occurred, and it was observed that his saddle was empty, several disaffected persons spread abroad a report that he had met with a severe accident; and so rapidly did the intelligence gain ground, that he was compelled to write circular letters to his nobles informing them of the real circumstances, and calling upon them to frustrate the designs of his enemies.

In the 26th* year of the reign, he was honored with the title of Nakíb Khán, by which he is now best known. In the 40th year, he attained the *Mansab* of 1000, and two of his cousins married into the royal family, the king himself espousing one of them. In the time of Jahángír he attained still further honors, and in the 9th year of the reign—A. H. 1023—died at Ajmír, and was buried in a marble tomb within the area of Muínu-d-Dín Chishtí's Mausoleum, where his wife lies buried by his side.

Nakíb Khán inherited his grandfather's devotion to the study of history, and it is said that he knew the entire contents of the seven volumes of the Rauzatu-s-Safá. He was one of the compilers of the first portion of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, and the translator of the Máhábhárata.† He was also expert in Geomancy and mental Arithmetic. The royal autobiographer, Jahángír, records an

* Kewal Rám says, in the Tazkiratu-l-Umrá, that this occurred in 25th year, and that he obtained the title for his gallant conduct in repelling a night attack made by M'súm Khán upon the royal camp.

† This honor is usually ascribed to Faizí, but I doubt if he had any concern in it beyond the mere general superintendence.

instance of it in his Memoirs, where he relates that Nakíb Khán, on being asked how many pigeons there were in a particular flock then flying, responded instantly, without making a mistake of even one.

The Mír attained a good old age, and left a son, who bore the name of his grandfather, Mír Abdu-l-Latíf, in the same way as his grandfather had done before him. He was a person of great worth and ability, and attained high honors, but died insane.

CONTENTS.

The Lubbu-t-Tawáríkh is divided into three* Books.

Book I.—On Muhammed and the Imáms. As all notice of Abubekr, Omar, and Othmán is excluded, D'Herbelot considers our author to be a Shía. This contains two sections; from page 2 to 13.

Book II.—On the kings who reigned before the advent of Muhammed—the Peshdádians—Kaiánians—the Mulúku-t-Tawáif, from the time of Alexander to Ardshír Bábegan—the Sásánians, or Kaiásara. In four sections; from p. 14 to 35.

Book III.—On the kings who reigned since the time of Muhammed. In three Chapters (Makála) and six sections (Báb); from pp. 35 to 164.

Chapter 1.—Regarding the holy men, companions of the Prophet; 1. p.

Chapter 2.—The Ummayide Khalífas; 4 pp.

Chapter 3.—The Abbáside Khalífas; 8 pp.

Section.—1. The Sultáns of Írán—in eleven subsections (Fasl) comprising the Táhirians; 2 pp. Saffárians; 2 pp. Samáníans; 2 pp. Ghaznevides; 3 pp. Ghorians; 1 p. Búyides; 5 pp. Saljúkians; 8 pp. Khwárasmsháhís; 3 pp. Atábeks; 5 pp. Ismaílians; 6 pp. Karákhitáís of Kirmán; 2 pp.

Section 2.—The Moghuls; 13 pp.

Section 3.—The successors of Sultán Abú Saíd in Írán. In five subsections; 25 pp.

* In the Preface of the copy before me it is stated that the work is divided into *four* Books, but the details of *three* books only are given. D'Herbelot says, the fourth book contains the dynasties subsequent to Muhammed, and Hamaker says that the Leyden copy has as the fourth book, that which D'Herbelot gives as the contents of the third, viz. the reigning family of Persia.

Section 4.—The descendants of Amír Timúr ; 19 pp.
Section 5.—The Kárákúinlú and Akkúinlú Turks. In two subsections ; 17 pp.
Section 6.—The descendants of Túshí Khán, son of Changez Khán, in Khorásán and Transoxiana ; 2 pp.
Size—Folio—pp. 164, of 19 lines.

The work is in too abridged a form to render any passage worth translating, but an extract from the original will be found in the last Volume.

Copies of the Lubbu-t-Tawárikh are rare in India, and I know of no good Manuscript. The most celebrated of Europe are those of Paris, Vienna, the Vatican, Bodleian, and Sir. W. Ouseley. Hamaker also notices one in the Leyden Library, No. 1738, written A. D. 1645-6, but ascribed to Mas'údí by some extraordinary mistake.*

Beginning.

حمد و سپاس خدای را که شاهان دوران ببارگاهش کمینه بندگانند و خواقین زمان بر درگاهش کمترین چاکران ستایش نامنتها علویش از تبدل و انتقال مصوّن است

Ending.

بعد از او عبدالله خان بسلطنت رسید او نیز پسر کو چونچي خان است و حالا که سنه ثمان و اربعین و تسعمائه است در ماوراالنهر پادشاه اوست

* Compare Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi cod. MSS.* pp. 48, 242. *Fundgr. d. Or.* Vol. II. p. 299. *Wien Jahrbb.* No. lxix p. 10. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* Art. *Labb al Taouarikh.* Busching's, *Mag. f. d. neu Hist. und Geog.* No. xvii. Petis de la Croix, *Abregé de la vie des auteurs &c. &c.* p. 529, Ouseley, *Epitome of Anc. Hist. of Persia,* pp. v. xxxi.

XIII.—XIV.

تاريخ پادشاهان هند

TA'RI'KH-I-PA'DSHA'HA'N-I-HIND.

تاريخ پادشاهان همايون

TA'RI'KH-I-PA'DSHA'HA'N-I-HUMAIYU'N.

The first work is described in Stewart's Catalogue (p. 17) as an abridged history of the Muhammedan kings of Hindustán till the accession of the Emperor Akbar. It is probably the same as the work of that name noticed by James Fraser, (*Catalogue of Manuscripts collected in the East*, 1742,) as well as by Von Hammer, (*Gesch. d. red. Pers.* p. 411.)

The second is the title of a work in the Catalogue of Capt. Jonathan Scott's Library, (Ouseley, *Oriental Collections*, Vol. I. p. 370.)

XV.

نسخ جهان آرا

NUSAKH-I JAHÁN-ÁRÁ.

This "world-adorning history" is a useful compendium, containing a brief account, not only of all the dynasties usually treated of, but several of less note.

The author is Cází Ahmed bin Muhammed al-Ghaffárí al-Kazwíní, to whom we are also indebted for the better known work entitled Nigáristán, which will be treated of under the Ghaznevíde dynasty.* From the short account given of him, amongst the biographies in the Táríkh-i-Badáúní, we learn that, having resigned his employment in Persia, he went, towards the close of his life, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and that landing at Daibal in Sind, for the purpose of paying a visit to Hindustán, he died at that port, A. H. 975—A. D. 1567.

The Jahán-árá carries the History of Asia down to A. H. 972, of which number the author tells us that the title forms the Chronogram. One section of the work was extracted by Sir W Ouseley, and published in 1799,

* M. Rousseau attributes a Persian anthology to him, but this appears to be an error.

under the title of "Epitome of the ancient History of Persia." India is noticed in several sections of the work, but they are not in sufficient detail to be of any value.

The Books and Chapters of the Jahán-árá are most fancifully divided, and subdivided, into Leaves, Pages, Paragraphs, Clauses, Lines, Letters, &c.

CONTENTS.

The Introduction treats of Chronology and of the Prophetical office; pp. 4—9.

Book I.—The Prophets—Muhammed—the twelve Imáms.—pp. 9—39.

Book II.—Chapter 1st.—The kings who preceded Muhammed. The Peshdádians.—Kaiánians.—Ashgánians.—Sásánians.—Kings of Babylon.—Syria.—Greece.—Yemen.—Ghassán.—Khákáns of Turks.

Chapter 2nd.—Kings subsequent to Muhammed.—Abbáside Khalifs.—Táhirians.—Arab Kings of Spain—Sharífs of Mecca.—Ismaílians.—Sultáns of Gílán and Mázanderán.—Saffárians.—Búyides.—Ghaznevides.—Saljúkians.—Khwárezm-sháhís.—Karákhitáis.—Atábaks.—Ghorians.—Chiefs of Arabia.—The Cæsars of Rúm.—The Sultáns of Hind.—Guzerát.—Deccan.—Chiefs of Lár and Hormuz.—the Khákáns of Moghuls.—Sultáns of Máwaráu-n-Nahr.—Amír Timúr.—Sháh Rukh—Sons of Omar Sheikh.—Descendants of Mírán Sháh.—The family of Othmán.—The Sultáns of Kárá-kúnílú—of Ak-kúnílú.*—pp. 39—433.

Book III.—The Saffavían dynasty.—pp. 434—578.

SIZE—Small Folio—578 pp, of 18 lines each.

The subdivisions are given in greater detail in the Jahrbücher, and in exacter correspondence with the original; but it is strange that all notice of Book III. is omitted. I have seen copies in this country also, in which there is no mention of that Book.

* This is the usual reading in works written, or copied, in India. The meaning of the words is "the black sheep," and "the white sheep." Malcolm (*Hist. of Persia* I. 323.) gives it as Koinloo; Von Hammer-Purgstall (*Jahrb.* No. lxix,) as Kojunlú.

Von-Hammer Pursgtall observes that the work is not common in Europe, but notices three copies in London, and one in his own collection. M. Fraehn also notices it among his desiderata. I know of three copies in India, at Dehli, at Lakhnau, and at Haiderábád, none of which are of conspicuous merit.*

A comparison of three copies gives the initial lines as :—

شده نامور زنامت نسخ جهان آرا * بجلال خویش یارب تو جمال آن بیارا
آرایش دیباجه سخن نسخ جهان آرای دین و دنیا و زینت افزای
انوان صحف مکرمه انبیا و اوصیا حمد و ثنای مالک الملکست

The words at the conclusion are :—

و بارواح حضرات ایمه هدا صلوة الله علیهم اهدی فرمودند تقبل
الله تعالی من حضرته قدس الاعلی و خلد ملکه و سلطانه مادامت
الارض والسماء تم الکتاب بعون الملک الوهاب

* Compare Rousseau, *Parnasse Oriental*, p. 96. *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, p. xxiv. *Gesch. d. sch. Red. Pers.* pp. 13, 307, 350. *Wien Jahrb. Anzgb.* p. 35. Ouseley, *Epitome of Anc. Hist. of Persia*, p. xxxvi. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliograph.* No 215.

XVI.—XVII.

تاريخ الجنابى

TA'RÍKH-AL-JANNÁBÍ.

اخبار الدول

AKHBÁRU-D-DAWAL.

The first work, of which the correct name is supposed to be Bahru-z-zakhkhár, "the swelling sea," comprises a general history from the beginning of the world to A H. 997—A.D. 1589. D'Herbelot quotes the author of the Kashfu-l-zanún as saying that this history is called by some Ilmu-z-zakhkhár, "superabundant knowledge," and that it is the most copious history which the Muhammedans have. Hájí Khalfa says it has no known title, but that the author of Akhbáru-d-dawal mentions it under the name of Bahr, and that some learned men call it, Ailemu-z-zákhir fí ahwálu-l-awáil wau-l-awákhir, "an overflowing well in the transactions of ancients and moderns."

It gives an account of the creation of the world, the Prophets, Syrians, Sabians, Jews, Christians, the four ancient Persian dynasties, the Kings of the Greeks, of the Israelites, Sul-

táns of Egypt, the Arab tribes, Muhammed, the four first Khalifs, and those of the Ummayide and Abbáside dynasties, the Mamlúks who ruled over Syria, the several dynasties of the Saffárians, Sámánians, Ghorians, Ghaznevides, Deilimites, Búyides, Saljúkians, Khwárazm-sháhís, Changez Khán, Timúr, and their descendants, the Ottoman Emperors, and others.

The work was originally written in Arabic, and translated by the author into Turkish, and abridged by him also in that language. Hence some confusion has arisen in describing it, and a second source of error arises from there being another author of this name, who wrote a history of Timûr.

It is divided into 82 sections, each containing a different dynasty; and, although Háji Khalfa notices that several dynasties are omitted which are mentioned in the Jehán Árá, yet he states that he knew no work equally copious as a compendium. He therefore abstracted the greater part into his own historical work, entitled Fazlaka, but increased the number of the different dynasties to 150. He states also that the Akhbáru-d-dawal wa asáru-l-awwal, "the annals of dynasties and the monuments of ancient things," in 380 folios, written A. H. 1008, by Ahmed bin Yúsuf bin Ahmed, is an abridgment of Jannábís history, to which the epitomator adds a little of his own, omitting at the same time many dynasties given by Jannábí.

D'Herbelot varies in giving the name of this author. Under the article "Gianabi," he gives it as, Abou Mohammed Mosthafa ben Seid bin Saiyd Hassan al Hosseini, and under "Tarikh al Gianabi," he calls him, al Gianabi ben Seid Hassan al Roumi. Uri gives his full name as, Abu Muhammed Mustafá ben al-Said al-Hasan ben al-Said Senan ben al-Said Ahmed al-Hosaini al-Hashemi al-Carshi. He died A. H. 999—A. D. 1591.

I know of no Manuscript of this work in India, but the name of Bahru-l-Zakhkhár is familiar, as being the title of a ponderous work devoted to the lives of Muhammedan Saints. It is also the name of the first volume of a modern compilation, called Majmau-l-Mulúk.

The Arabic history exists at Oxford and St. Petersburg, and the Turkish is in the Royal Library of Vienna. The Bodleian has two copies, both in two volumes; one copy is in folio, comprising 553 leaves, but there are only 76 sections included in it; another is in 4to. comprising 880 leaves.*

* Compare Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Or.* pp. 150, 170, 173, Nicoll and Pusey, *ib.* pp. 590, 595. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliograph.* No. 221. Koehler, *Eichh. Repert.* Vol. iv. p. 274. *Gesch. des Osman. Reiches*, Vol. iv. p. 235. Háji Khalfa, *Lex. Bibl. et. Enc.* Vol. ii. p. 124. *Gesch. d. Gold. Horde*, p. xxviii. *Wien Jahrbb.* No. lxix. pp. 11, 13. *Fundg. d. Or.* Vol. iv. p. 329. Vol. vi. p. 370.

XVIII.

تاريخ حاجي محمد قندهاري

TA'RI'KH-I HA'JI' MUHAMMED CANDAHA'RI'.

This work is very frequently quoted by Ferishta, both in the General History, as well as in the Histories of Bengál, Sind, and Guzerát, and throughout a period extending from Mahmúd of Ghazní to the accession of Akbar. It is, therefore, evidently a General History.

In the Sahíhu-l-Akhbár, Sarúp Chand quotes as one of the authorities to which he is indebted, Tárikh-i-Sadr Jahán by Hájí Muhammed Candahárí, in which he has confounded two names together, and rendered himself open to the suspicion of quoting works which he never saw, —a practice by no means uncommon with our modern historiographers.

I cannot learn that there is any copy of this work extant.

(See Brigg's *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 52, 408, Vol. IV. pp. 48, 345, 401)

XIX.

تاريخ الفي

TA'RÍ'KH-I-ALFÍ.

This work comprehends a History of Muhammedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijrí Era. It is from this circumstance that it obtains its name, *Alf*, signifying in the Arabic language, one thousand. The Emperor Akbar directed its compilation by several learned men,* and may have perhaps fixed upon this particular period of one thousand years, in conformity with a notion he is said to have entertained and expressed, that the Muhammedan religion would be abolished, after lasting that period.†

At the commencement of the work, many different authors were employed, but, subsequently, the chief labour devolved upon Mullánà Ahmed, the son of the Cází of Thatta,‡ and the author of Khulásatu-l-Haiát, "the Essence of Life." An interesting account of the different

* Two hundred years before a similar scheme was executed by Guthrie and Grey. See *Gesch d. sch. redek. Persiens*, p. 353.

† Troyer and Shea, *Dabistan*, Vol. III. p. 98.

‡ His birthplace is differently given by others. Dr. Bird calls him son of Nasrallah of Nineveh. General Briggs calls him Mulla Ahmed of Nineveh. See *History of Guzerat*, p. 88. *Ferishta*, Vol. I p. xlix. *Dabistan*, Vol. II. p. 160.

parties engaged on it is given by Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní in the following passage from his Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh.

"About this time (A. H. 990) Mullá Ahmed of Thatta, a bigot who had the impertinence* to call himself a physician, came from the Deccan, and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, were Fárúkís of the Hanífah sect, and Mullá Ahmed used, in consequence of his apostacy, to shower anathemas upon those unfortunate persons. * * * In the time of Sháh Tahmásp he associated in Irák with some heretic Iránians, but he even exceeded them, notwithstanding their notorious heresy. When Sháh Ismaíl II. deserted the faith of his father, and became a Sunní, and persecuted the heretic Shías, Mullá Ahmed accompanied Makhdúm Sharkí, (an uncompromising Sunní, who wrote the Kitábu-n-nawáfiz,) on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thence he proceeded to the Deccan, and afterwards to Hindustán, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines,† and invite converts to the Shía persuasion; but in a short time he met the penalty of his evils deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faízí, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister

* The author of the Másir-l-Umrá, who was himself a Shía, speaks more tenderly of these absurdities. He says the Mullá was partial to religious controversy, and rarely missed an opportuuity of indulging his propensity even in mixed societies.

† The Másir-l-Umrá does not give so sorry an account of his claim to be a physician, as will be seen below.

inspired him, when I saw him one day in the Bázár, where some Irákís took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, "I see the mark of a Shía stamped on your forehead." "Just as much," I replied, "as I see Sunní stamped upon your's." The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort. I shall, please God! notice the close of his life in the proper place."

"The year one thousand of the Hijrí Era, which is in general use, being now completed* the Emperor Akbar ordered a history to be written of all the Muhammadan kings, and directed that such a name should be given to the work, as to denote the year of its composition. It was for this reason that the work was entitled Alfí."

"He further ordered the word Rihlat (death) to be substituted for Hijrat (flight) in the different dates, and employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the decease of the Prophet to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world."

"He assigned the first year to Nakíb Khán, the second to Sháh Fateh-ullah, and so on to Hakím Humám, Hakím Alí, Hájí Ibráhím Sarhindí (who had just then arrived from

* This is said in the paulo-post future sense, because the order for the composition of the Tárikhí-l-Alfí is recorded as one of the events of 990 H, and we find Abdu-l-Kádir going to Lahore to revise it in 1000 H. The translation of the Máhábhárata was also ordered in 990 H.

Guzerát) Mírzá Nizámu-d-Dín and myself; so that by such distribution thirty-five years were finished in the course of a week."

"During the period that I was compiling the events of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of Khalif Omar, the model of purity, (may God be propitious to him!) I had just completed an account of the foundation of Kúfa, and the destruction of Madáin, from the ruins of which the new city was embellished, and the marriage of Ammi Kulsúm the daughter of Alí, (may God be propitious to him!) as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Nasíbín, and the large black scorpions which were made use of to effect its capture, when, one night, Mírzá Jafar Asaf Khán thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts.* Notwithstanding this, Shaik Abú-l-Fazl and Ghází Khán Badakhshí confirmed my assertions. Shortly afterwards, when I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, and had written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the Rauzatu-l-Ahbáb and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Nakíb Khán to verify the accuracy of the statement, which, by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention."

"At the recommendation of Hakím Abú-l-Fateh, the compilation of the work from the

* See Note D.

thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mullá Ahmed of Thatta, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudices —a fact which is well known."

"The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changhez Khán, when Mírzá Faulád, one night, pretending that the king had sent for Mullá Ahmed, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. For this act he was sentenced to death."

"The remainder of the work was written by Asaf Khán, up to the year 997* H. In the year 1000† H. I was ordered to proceed to Lahore, to revise the composition, to compare it with other histories, and to arrange the dates in their proper sequence."

"I compared the two first volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Asaf Khán."

* Not having seen the last part of the History, I am not able to ascertain whether it extends only to 997 H. The Masíru-l-Umrá uses the same expression.

† In another portion of his History he says, that he presented the first volume of the edition, which had been revised by him, in the 39th year of the reign, corresponding with A. H. 1003, in which labour, his friend, Mullá Mustafá, a famous copyist of Lahore, had been associated with him. He was then asked by Akbar to revise the second, as it was full of the religious opinions of Mullá Ahmed, but he excused himself from doing more than merely revising the style, without altering the sense, or correcting the dates; in order that his enemies might not say he had been introducing his own sentiments instead of those of the author, and substituting one set of prejudices for another. As the Táríkh-i-Alfí is quoted in the Tabakát-i-Akbarí, which is brought down only to the end of the 38th year of the reign, corresponding with 1002 H. it is evident it must have been available before Abdu-l-Kádir had revised it.

In another part of his History (A. H. 1003) Abdu-l-Kádir again speaks of the Táríkh-i-Alfí being divided into three books, two composed by Mullá Ahmed, "the heretic, may he meet with his deserts!" and the third by Asaf Khán (Jafar Beg). Major C. Stewart, however, in his Catalogue of Típú Sultán's Library, says, it is divided into five Books, and that it extends from A. D. 622 to 1592. The error of making it commence from A. D. 622 arises from his supposing that its dates refer to the flight, instead of the death, of Muhammed. This alteration of an universal Era, and the substitution of one especially for this work, is a very objectionable feature of the Táríkh-i-Alfí, excellent as it is in many other respects.

It will be observed that Abdu-l-Kádir promised to relate further particulars of Mullá Ahmed in their proper place, and he fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as amusing an instance of *odium theologicum*, as is to be met with in any country.

"During this month (Safar, 996 A. H.) Mírzá Faulád Birlás persuaded the heretic Mullá Ahmed, who was always openly reviling the first Khalifs, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are. "Bravo! Faulad's stiletto!" and "Hellish hog!" and indeed when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog: others also

observed the same, May God protect me from such a dreadful fate!"*

"Mirza Faulád was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom."

"When Hakím Abú-l-Fateh sent some one to enquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Mullá Ahmed, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than the Mullá. The Hakím reported this speech to the king, who remarked that Mírzá Faulád was an implacable villain, and ought to suffer death. He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies† of the royal household. The Mullá expired three or four days after the Mírzá."

"It is said, that when the Shías were bathing him previous to burial, they fixed, according to the observances of their religion, a tent peg in his back, and dipped him several times in the river, and that when he was buried, Sheikh Faizí and Sheikh Abú-l-Fazl appointed watchmen to guard his tomb; notwithstanding which, when the Court departed for Cashmír, the

* A Shía, who marked the rubrics on the margin of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus. "The assassination of the blessed Mullá Ahmed by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig."

† The Másiru-l-Umrá says "by the nobles of the state." The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor. The Birlás family had served his for eight generations, and Mírza Faulád had himself been selected by Akbar to accompany an embassy to Abdullah Khán Uzbek, in the 22nd year of the reign.

people of Lahore exhumated his vile carcase, and burnt it."

The author of the Másiru-l-Umrá adds a few particulars respecting Mullá Ahmed, in his biography of Faulád Khán. He says that the accomplice of Mírzá Faulád personated one of the royal messengers, and summoned the Mullá to the king's presence, that when the Mullá had left his house, he was attacked, and had one of his hands cut off by a sword; that the assassins, mistaking it for his head, ran off, satisfied that their work was accomplishcd; that he fell from his horse, and when he had recovered a little, picked up his own hand, and went to the house of Hakím Hasan for succour; that when Faulád Khán was seized, he confessed the crime before Abú-l-Fazl, Khán Khánán, and Ásaf Khán.

He says also that Mullá Ahmed went in his 22nd year to Mashed, and thence to Yezd and Shiráz, where, under the instructions of the physicians Kamálu-dín Husain and Mullá Mírzá Ján, he entered on a course of medical study, and read the Kulyát-i-Cánún of Avicenna, and the Sharh-i-Tajríd, with all the commentaries. He then went to Cazwín, where he had an interview with Sháh Tahmásp, and when Sháh Ismaíl, the second, was converted to the Sunní doctrine, he went to Irák-i-Arab and Mecca, and after mixing with several celebrated scholars in those parts, proceeded to the Deccan, to the Court of Kutb Sháh of Golconda, and in the 27th year of Akbar's reign came to Futehpúr

Síkrí, where he received orders to compile the Táríkh-i-Alfí.

He used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion, why he had dwelt so long upon Khalífa Othmán's reign. He replied openly, says the Másiru-l-Umrá, before all the Túrání nobles, who were Sunnís, that that period is the "Rauzatu-s-Shuhadá"* of the Sunnís, and to abridge it would give offence.

The inconvenience respecting the introduction of a novel era in the Táríkh-i-Alfí has already been noticed Another were serious accusation has been laid against this work, of leaving out several important events during the period it embraces; and especially the omission of the decisive battle of Cadesíah in A. D. 636, which preceded the final subjugation of Persia, has been commented on as a proof of carelessness. But a much greater objection to be made to the Táríkh-i-Alfí is the plan of the work—being constructed in the form of Annals, like the tedious Historical Library of Diodorus; and thus we are compelled to turn over page after page of this voluminous history, before we can trace the connection of events in any particular country which may happen to be the subject of our investigation. Nothing but an excellent Index could remedy such a defect.

The Compilers appear to have availed them-

* The Rauzatu-s-Shuhadá "the garden of martyrs" is the name usually given to works recounting the tragical fate of the sons of Alí. The author evidently considers the remark of the Mullá to be witty and severe. He also quotes the retort, of which Abdu-l-Kádir boasts above, at p. 145, the point of which is not very evident.

selves of all the best sources of information open to them; for there is no historical work, Arabic or Persian, of any celebrity amongst modern European Scholars, which they do not quote—often applying a very judicious criticism in selecting the most trust-worthy records, and rejecting the fabulous legends, with which so many of them abound. The authorities quoted on Indian affairs are few, but more may be mentioned in the Preface, which is said to have been written by Abú-l-Fazl.

Extracts.

Anno 68 *after the death of Muhammed.*

When Abdullah, the son of Abúbakr, arrived at Nímroz, Hajjáj sent a message, requesting him not to linger at Sejestán, but to march without delay towards Cábul, as signs of rebellion and disaffection had exhibited themselves in the chief, Ráíbal, for he had entered into a treaty with the Muhammedans, and agreed to pay a tribute annually into the treasury, and as long as he found the Muhammedans powerful, he paid the tribute, but whenever they were found to be engaged in other affairs, or had encountered any disaster, he withheld it. Abdullah, in obedience to the commands of Hajjáj, turned towards Cábul with the armies of Basra and Kúfa, and as fast as the Muhammadans advanced, Ráíbal retreated towards Hindústán. Dáúd Shureih, one of the officers of Abdullah, pursued Ráíbal seventeen parasangs. At this time, the ruler of Cábul sent persons to some of the dignitaries and well-wishers of the state, desiring them to secure those roads, by which the Muhammadans had entered the country, in such a manner that they should neither obtain any supplies, nor have the opportunity of retracing their steps. The consequence was, that after a few days such a famine broke out in the Muhammadan camp, that every one despaired of life. Upon this, Abdullah, the son of Shureih Háni, said "it is advisable for us to treat with the infidels, and to offer 70,000* dirhems, in order that we may prevail upon them to remove the obstacles they have set in our way, and thus betake ourselves to a place

* In another passage this is 700,000 in the original.

of security." Shureih replied, "whatever amount you offer to the infidels, the Díwán will place to your individual account." Abdullah rejoined, "such a demand even would be preferable to the dreadful alternative of starvation." Shureih said, "my age exceeds a hundred years, and I never expected to arrive at this period of existence. It has always been my prayer before the throne of God that I might suffer martyrdom, and the time for its accomplishment has now arrived." Saying this, he mounted his horse, and exclaimed, "O, ye Musulmáns, who have a desire to be martyrs, follow me!" Upon which, a few men came forward, and joined him, and with boldness rushing to the battle field, they charged the infidels, and kept on fighting till they were slain.

Abdullah, after paying 70,000 dirhems to the enemy, returned with his followers. When they arrived at the Muhammedan frontier, food was served out to them; and so famished were they, that those who satisfied their appetite died immediately. When this was known, they appeased their hunger more moderately, and were thus by degrees restored to their former strength.

* * * * * *

Anno 377 *after the death of Muhammed.*

It appears from authentic history that the following circumstances led to the first conquest of India by Amír Násiru-d-dín Sabuktigín.

There was a town, called Kusdár, near the dominions of Amír Násiru-d-dín. The ruler of this place prided himself much on the strength of his forts, and was elated at the wealth and resources of his kingdom.

Amír Násiru-d-dín invaded this chief's country, and took him prisoner, but ultimately restored him to his possessions on these conditions, that henceforth the coin should be struck, and the Khutba be read, in the Amír's name, and that a fixed sum out of the revenue of the country should be annually remitted to his treasury.

After the termination of the campaign of Kusdár,* Amír Násiru-d-dín meditating a religious war against the infidels, marched towards India, and conquered several forts and towns where the Muhammedan flag had never before waved.

This encroachment on the part of the Muhammedans was the cause of much disquietude to the mind of Jaipál, the ruler of India, who apprehended that his ancestral dominions would in consequence be wrested from his hands.

Accordingly, adopting the only remedy available, he collected his army, and marched towards the Muhammedan territories. Amír Násiru-d-dín, on the receipt of this intelligence, assembled

* See Note E.

such a considerable force to put down his opponent, as made the very hills and plains groan under their weight. In short, king Jaipál and Amír Násiru-d-dín marched against each other from opposite directions, and the two armies met on the frontiers of India, where a battle was fought with such slaughter, that the earth was incarnadined with human blood, and the warriors of both armies, and the combatants of both countries, were wounded, and in despair. In this battle Sultán Mahmúd, notwithstanding his tender age, displayed such courage and intrepidity, that the very heavens gazed upon his exploits with wonder.

After the adverse armies had been engaged in repeated conflicts, Amír Násiru-d-dín was apprized by some of his adherents that there was a spring in the vicinity of the camp of Jaipál, which, on some filthy substance being thrown into it, would raise such a storm accompanied by lightning, thunder and cold, that no one could endure it.

Amír Násiru-d-dín, accordingly, ordered some ordure to be thrown into the spring. This being done, the skies were instantly overcast with clouds, attended with lightning and thunder; the bright day became dark as night, and the cold was so intense, that the blood congealed in the warriors' veins. The Indians were so filled with consternation, that they could no longer make a stand against their victorious foes. When king Jaipál saw this, he was in the utmost dismay and grief, and, determining upon submission, he despatched a messenger to Násiru-d-dín with overtures of peace, engaging to pay annually a heavy tribute to the conqueror, to present him with a number of elphants, and to comply with any other demand which Amír Násiru-d-dín might exact from him. He also agreed to acknowledge the Amír's supremacy in the provinces of Hindústán.

Amír Násiru-d-dín, with his accustomed humanity and benevolence, readily accepted the terms proposed by king Jaipál.

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Anno 388 *after the death of Muhammed.*

It is related in the history of Ibn Kathír of Syria, that, when Sultán Mahmúd, after several severe actions with Jaipál, the king of Hindústan, had at last taken him prisoner, he tore from the neck of his captive a string of splendid jewels, of the value of 80,000 dínárs, and, after a time, ordered him to be released from prison, and restored to his own country, in order that he might convey to his subjects the impression he has received of the pomp and power of the Muhammedans; but that when king Jaipál reached his own country, he was so overwhelmed

with shame, that he forthwith threw himself on a funeral pyre, and perished in the flames.

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Anno 426 *after the death of Muhammed.*

One of the events of this year was, that three of the principal Rájás of Hind, having formed a confederacy, with an intent to deliver Lahore from the Muhammedans who had risen up in rebellion against Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, laid siege to the city. Upon this, the leader of the Muhammedan army again made submission to Maudúd, and collected together the entire Muhammedan force. When the Rájá knew that the Muhammedans had again submitted to Maudúd, son of Mas'úd, two of them withdrew to their country, but the third, whose name was Deopál Harnáma, delayed his retreat, in order to try his strength with the Muhammedans.

The latter, when satisfied of their superiority, made a sally, compelled the Rájá to fly before them, and killed many infidels in the pursuit.

The Rájá retired within a stronghold, which the Muhammedans invested. The fort being a small one, and the troops which accompanied the Rájá to that place amounting to five thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot soldiers, the infidels found themselves on the verge of destruction, and sent deputies to the Muhammedans begging for quarter; but the Muhammedans would not consent, unless the infidels surrendered every one of their fortresses.

At length, when the infidels had no other alternative than to yield, they accepted the conditions, and saved their lives.

The property and treasure of all their forts fell into the hands of the Muhammedans, together with five thousand Muhammedan slaves, who were imprisoned in them. These having been set free, joined the victorious army.

When the Muhammedan army had settled affairs with Rájá Deopál, who was superior to all the kings of Hind in power and grandeur, they directed their attention to another Rájá, named Máb Bálrí, who, when he received the intelligence thereof, set his troops in order, and advanced with a determination to fight with the Muhammedans.

Upon the meeting of the two armies the fire of battle was kindled, and notwithstanding the inferiority of the Muhammedan forces, which did not amount to one-tenth of those opposed to them, they, by the help of providence and the influence of their victorious banners, attacked the enemy with such fury, that the Rájá was sent to perdition, and five thousand of his army fell on

the field of battle. The Muhammedans obtained considerable booty, and when the chiefs of Hind were informed of these circumstances, they gave in their submission, and by the offer of tribute, kept themselves free from the destructive swords of the Muhammedans.

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Anno 482 *after the death of Muhammed.*

When Ibráhím, son of Mas'úd, was satisfied that there was no apprehension of any opposition from the Saljúkians, he dispatched an army towards Hindústán, and conquered several places that had not been captured by his predecessors, notwithstanding their power and resources. One of the places which submitted to the conqueror, was a fort of Júd, which surpassed all others in strength and extent. It was situated 120 parasangs distant from Laháwar, and at the time when Ibráhím commenced operations against the fort, there was a garrison in it of ten thousand men, who fought several times against the invader. Finding Ibráhím's efforts and resources to capture the fort very great, the garrison became dispirited, and although they had sufficient supplies and plenty of water, they nevertheless surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared. After capturing this fort, Ibráhím directed his attention towards another, called Damál,* which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindústán; on one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be almost impassable by human beings, and on the other, a large thorny jungle, into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The jungle was, moreover, said to be infested by venemous serpents, flies, &c.

One part of the jungle abounded with elephants as huge as mountains, and it was inhabited by a race of Hindús of an enormous strength and stature. Of all the places in Hindústán Ibrahím found this the most inaccessible. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations.

Ibráhím, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God, soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen.

Ibráhím next marched towards Derápúr, in Hindústán, a place which many great emperors found it impracticable to con-

* Probably the place subsequently called Núrpúr, which has a fort built of stones and mud on an eminence about two hundred feet high, at the base of which flows a small river, a feeder of the Rávi, which it joins about thirty miles lower down.—Thornton's *Gazetteer*, Vol. II. p. 83.

quer. Several histories state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khorásán, who for their disloyal and rebellious conduct had been long before banished the country by Afrásiáb, emperor of Túrán. This place was densely populated, and was of considerable strength. There was a large reservoir of water in it, the diameter of which was half a parasang, and though both men and beasts used to drink of it, yet it was always full throughout the year. During the time the tribe alluded to dwelt in this place, the rulers of Hindústán never dared to attack it, from a conviction of its impregnable strength.

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Anno 547 *after the death of Mùhammed.*

When Aláu-d-Dín received intelligence of what had happened to his brother, he collected a large army, and proceeded to Ghaznín, with a view to avenge his cause. It is alleged by some historians that before the arrival of Aláu-d-Dín at Ghaznín, Bahrám Sháh died, and that his son succeeded him; but later authorities being aware that this assertion was not correct, have stated in their histories that Bahrám Sháh, having been informed of the approach of Aláu-d-Dín, levied forces from every part of his own country, and came out of Ghaznín to engage Aláu-d-Dín. Bahrám at first sent a message to Aláu-d-Dín to the effect that it was advisable for him to abandon his groundless hope, and to return before he incurred disgrace. It is related that there were two heroes of Ghor, called Sirfíl,* who were of incomparable strength and valour among Ghorians, and when the ambassador of Bahrám Sháh returned, Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, having called these heroes, addressed them in these words. "In answer to Bahrám Sháh I have told him, that if he has *Fíl* (elephants), I have *Sirfíl* (the chief of elephants). Be on your guard therefore, and take care that you overpower the elephants opposed to you."

Both these heroes, after kissing the earth, replied, "As long as life remains, we shall be firm to our duty, and will not spare ourselves." In short, when the two armies came in contact with each other, and the flame of battle was kindled,† the Ghorian heroes, with daggers in their hands, crouched beneath the bellies of the elephants, and ripped them open. One of the two heroes perished on the field, and the other survived the battle.

* This appears the correct reading. Briggs (*Ferishta*, I. 154) reads Khurmil, and adds a note expressing his doubts if Firmil be not meant. The witticism which follows is not mentioned hy Ferishta, and the Rauzatu-s-Safá omits all notice of these two heroes.

† This is a phrase that the compiler is remarkably fond of, the description of an action in the field rarely occurs without it.

It is said that the Sultán covered his coat of mail on the day of battle with a red silk vest, and when some one enquired the cause, he replied, "if I am shot by an arrow, and the blood gush out of the wound, my army will not be discouraged." During the heat of battle, Daulat Sháh, son of Bahrám Sháh, a prince of incomparable bravery, collected together a few valiant men, and with the entire body of his elephants made a simultaneous attack upon the Ghorian army. Alá-u-d-Dín ordered his infantry in the front line to retire, and open a passage for them. Daulat Sháh, thinking that the Ghorian army was broken, advanced with a chosen body of men, who were immediately surrounded by the Ghorians, for the infantry of Aláu-d-Dín returned to their former position on a signal given by the king, and cut off the retreat of Daulat Sháh, who after displaying many acts of personal prowess, was put to the sword with all those who followed him. Bahrám Sháh, on perceiving this, took alarm, and fled away with precipitation. The Ghorians pursued the men of Ghaznín, till Bahrám Sháh reached a distance of one parasang from Ghaznín, where he halted, in order to allow his dispersed troops to join him. In this place he rallied, and made another stand, but being unsuccessful, was again compelled to fly. The Sultán pressed on to Ghaznín, and there, while engaged in drinking wine on the top of the citadel, he ordered his soldiers to plunder and massacre the inhabitants of Ghaznín without mercy. In the execution of these cruel orders, in which his army was engaged for seven days, so utterly was Ghaznín destroyed, that there remained not a trace of its buildings.

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Anno 592 *after the death of Muhammed.*

It is mentioned in authentic Histories that when Shahábu-d-Dín was defeated by the Turks of Khitá, on his return from Khwárazm, as has been already related, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom, that Shahábu-d-Dín had been missed in the field of battle, and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon a portion of his kingdom. Among other enemies, one named Rásál, who lived in the mountains between Lahore, Cábul, and the sandy desert, having united with a number of Kokars, who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shahábu-d-Dín, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercept the communications between Lahore Ghaznín, so that no one could pass from one to the other.

Upon the return of Shahábu-d-Dín to Ghaznín in safety, as before mentioned, he was informed of these transactions, and

consequently resolved to proceed to Hindustán, and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amír Muhammed, son of Abí Alí, whom he had appointed Governor of Lahore and Múltán, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year 601 H. as soon as possible, as it was necessary to make preparations for an expedition to Khitá. Muhammed, son of Alí, wrote in answer, that the tribute of the year had been collected and was ready, but that the Kokars and Rásál, who were in possession of the Hills of Júdí, had stopped the communication between Lahore and Ghaznín, in such a manner that no body could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shahábu-d-Dín, he wrote to Kutbu-d-Dín, his slave, who was the commander of the army of Hind, to send some person to the Kokars, and dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them, that if they repented and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Kutbu-d-Dín Eibek, according to the order of Shahábu-d-Dín, sent a person to the Kokars, desiring them to submit themselves to the pleasure of the Sultán, the son of Kokar replied, that Kutbu-d-Dín had no authority to issue such a mandate, that Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further, that if he had been really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute, when the Kokars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín to send any messenger to you; it is great honor to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of Kokar replied, "This is a mere fable, Shahábu-d-Dín no longer lives to issue any orders." The ambassador rejoined, "It may easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go, and convince his own eyes, whether Shahábu-d-Dín be alive or not." In short, the son of Kokar being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Kutbu-d-Dín returned, and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Kutbu-d-Dín related the circumstances to Sultán Shahábu-d-Dín, who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindustán, to proceed against the Kokars, and to exterminate them from the face of the earth. When this mandate reached Kutbu-d-Dín, he was already making preparations to march against that nation. In the meantime, Shahábu-d-Dín deferred his expedition to Khitá, and caused his army to return, as complaints of the violence and oppression of the Kokars were frequently coming in, accompanied with accounts of their great and increasing power; so that he considered it his duty, first to repulse these people and punish them severely, before detaching his forces to any other quarter. For this reason Shahábu-d-Dín gave up for the present the idea of proceeding to Khitá.

On the 5th of Rabíu-l-awwal of the same year, Sultán Shaháb-

u-d-Dín returned towards Ghaznín, and when after some days he arrived at Pershâwar, he learned that the Kokars had taken up a position between the Jailam and Sudrah, with a large army. Having marched from Pershâwar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he attacked them unexpectedly, and the battle lasted from morning till the afternoon of that day. The Kokars fought so valiantly, that the Sultán, with all his kingly power and resources, was very near being compelled to retreat; but, in the meantime, Kutbu-d-Dín Eibek, arriving with the army of Hindustán, began to make havoc among the Kokars; and as his forces were fresh and vigorous, the Kokars were soon overpowered, and had recourse to flight. The Muhammedans pursuing, dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. Those who escaped the sword fled to the woods and jungles. The Muhammedans set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels, entering into a solemn covenant not to surrender themselves into the hands of the Muhammedans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all of them, who had taken refuge in the woods, perished. When the attention of the Sultán was relieved of the anxiety occasioned by these transactions, he marched towards Lahore, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes, ordering them to march towards Khitá after a few days' repose.*

* * * * * *

Anno 698 *after the death of Muhammed.*

In this year, Sultán Aláu-d-Dín, King of Hindústán, proceeded to Siwána on a hunting expedition, when the chief of that place took to his fort and offered opposition. The fort was soon captured, and this was the first occasion that it had been taken. Sumer Deo, the chief (Mukaddam), perished with several thousands of Hindús. In the same year, the fort of Kalwar came into the possession of Aláu-d-Dín's army. The detail of the case is this:—Káthar Deo, Governor of the fort of Kalwar, had upon one occasion gone to the Sultán to pay his respects, when

* This tribe is variously denominated by Muhammedan authors, Kúkár, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghikar, Ghakar. The last appears to be the most correct. Shortly after this expedition they were converted to Islám, their chieftain having obtainad his release from captivity by becoming a proselyte, and promising to use his endeavours to convert his tribe. They often appear subsequently upon the stage of Indian history, and rarely but as turbulent and rapacious marauders. Their descendants have somewhat receded from their old haunts, and now occupy the country to the south and east of the upper course of the Behat. They call themselves descendants of the Kaiánians, but polyandry and some other of their customs would seem to indicate a Tartar origin.

the Sultán boasted that there was no Zemíndár at that time in Hindústán who had power to withstand his troops. Upon this, Káthar Deo, with exceeding folly replied, that he would die rather than submit tacitly to such an assumption. The Sultán being enraged at this, dismissed him, and he returned to his own country. The Sultán then sent a female slave, named Gul Behisht, against him. Gul Behisht had a son called Malik Sháhín, who accompanied her on the expedition against Káthar Deo. Just as the garrison were beginning to despair, Gul Behisht happened to die, and Káthar Deo, sallying from the fort, attacked Malik Sháhín and killed him. Upon the death of both the son and mother, the command of the army devolved on Kamálu-d-Dín, who took the fort, and put Káthar Deo to death.

I have seen no notice of the existence of this work in European libraries. Parts of it are to be met with in India, but not one library, which I know of, contains a perfect copy. It is a work of great size. The portion I have seen was a Folio of 1646 pages, with 40 lines to a page, and it was very incomplete. At Haiderábád there is a copy in two volumes, which, though imperfect, contains, in the first Vol, 1336 pages of 19 lines each, and, in the second, 2066 pages of 31 lines each. One of the best Manuscripts is in the possession of the Nuwáb of Murshedábád, which is thus described:

The 2nd Vol. consist of 976 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 127 to 500, after the death of Muhammed.

The 3rd Vol. consists of 640 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 501 to 672.

The 4th Vol. consists of 1092 pages of 21 lines, and contains the events from the year 673 to 974.

Two more Volumes therefore are required to make this work complete. I was anxious to

make further enquiries about the Nuwáb's copy, but the librarian seemed indisposed to furnish any more information respecting it, and gave evasive answers; evincing thereby a suspicion, which, if anywhere, is certainly excusable in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, where commercial profligacy has brought the European character into very low repute.*

* It will be observed at p. 150 that the author, Mullá Ahmed, was inveigled out of his house by a man who personated one of the Royal messengers. This official is called in the original by the Turkish word *Cháús*, which was, and is, except metaphorically, rarely used in India. *Cháús*, or *Cháwush*, signifies a Lictor, a king's Serjeant, an Officer of the Court. His proceedings upon this occasion confirm the bad reputation of a class, from which, only a few years afterwards, we were enabled to coin our expressive word *chouse*. In A. D. 1609, a *Cháús* from the Grand Signior committed a gross fraud upon the Turkish and Persian merchants resident in England, by cheating them out of £4000. (Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, iv. 27.) Hence, from the notoriety of the circumstance, came the expression to *chouse*, just as within the last twenty years we have got to *burke*, and some other very significant terms.

The authors of the period caught gladly at the expression, and familiarized it to after ages by making frequent use of it. Richardson gives the following instances:—

> Gul, or Mogul,
> Tag rag, or other hogen-mogen, varden,
> Ship-jacks, or *chouses*.
>
> Ford, *Lady's Trial*. II. 2.

Dap. What do you think of me, that I am a *Chiaus?*

Face. What's that?

Dap. The Turk was here. As one would say, do you think I am a Turk.

Face. Come, noble doctor, pray thee, let's prevail; this is the gentleman, and he is no *Chiaus*.

Ben Jonson, *Alchemist*, I. 1.

> He stole your cloak and pick'd your pocket,
> *Chous'd* and caldes'd ye like a blockhead.
>
> Butler, *Hudibras*, II. 3.

It is obvious to remark, that if, in the age of our forefathers, cheating to the extent of only £4000 was sufficient to consign a whole class to an immortality of infamy, how many more expressive words, dissyllables as well as monosyllables, might not the transactions of 1847-48 encourage us to add to our vocabulary, since even £40000 is not sufficient to satiate the voracity of a Calcutta *Cháús*.

NOTE D.

On the capture of Nasíbín by means of Scorpions.

The Nasíbín,* mentioned in the text, is the Nisibis of classical authors, the position of which on the frontier of the Persian and Roman Empires, made its occupation of so much importance in the estimation of the contending parties, from the time that Lucullus plundered it, till its capture by the Arabs. It was surrounded by a treble inclosure of brick walls defended by a deep ditch, and was considered so impregnable, that Asiatics, as will be presently seen, are fond of resorting to supernatural means to account for its capture. Sapor made three separate attacks upon the town A D. 338, 346, 350, and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and an hundred days, was repulsed each time with loss and ignominy;† but it was at last ceded to him by Jovian‡ in 363, and it remained henceforth with

* See above p. 146. Mannert says the town is called Nisibin, or Nissabin, but neither mode of orthography is consistent with Abú-l-fedá. Vide *Geogr. d. Aboulf.* texte Arabe, p. 283.

† Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III. p. 139.

‡ In speaking of this humiliating treaty, Eutropius gives us a good notion of the political honesty of the Romans, by censuring Jovian for not immediately breaking the treaty, and renewing the war, as the Romans *had done in all former occasions*, immediately he had escaped from the dangerous position which had compelled him to conclude it. —*Histor. Rom. Breviar.* X. 17. The capitulation of Closter-Seven,

the Persians, (if we except two short intervals,) as it had remained for the two previous centuries with the Romans, a strong bulwark against hostile encroachments.

On the third occasion of Sapor's attack, unusual means were resorted to to obtain possession of the place. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the course of the river Mygdonius was, by the labour of the Persians, stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers and heavy engines of war, was launched, and the accumulated pressure of the waters made a portion of the walls give way. Nevertheless, the monarch failed of success, and Nisibis retained its character as an inexpugnable stronghold.*

Under one of his predecessors, Sapor I., the Sháhpúr of the Persians, Mírkhond informs us that a miracle placed the town in the hands of the Persian Monarch. Wearied with the siege, Sháhpúr commanded his army to unite in supplication to the Supreme Being for its conquest, and while they were imploring the aid of heaven, the wall fell down before them, and their faith and devotion received a signal reward.†

during the seven years' war, for a suspension of arms in the north of Germany, and the convention of El-Arish in 1800, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French armies, have called forth the opinion of modern jurists on the general question. See Wheaton's *Elements of International Law.* Vol. II. pp. 120—122, and Flassan's, *Histoire de la Diplomatie Française*, Tom. VI. pp. 97—107.

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. III. p. 141.

† Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 77.

Nisibis is now but a small and insignificant place, with scarcely more than one hundred houses, but it is surrounded with ruins which attest its former magnificence.*

The facts above related, with reference to the many obstinate defences of Nasíbín, show how natural it was that a credulous oriental writer should resort to the marvellous to account for such unusual success as attended the arms of the Arabs in the seventeenth year of the Hijrí.

The passage against which the captious opponent of Abdu-l-Kádir took exception, runs thus in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, in the Annals of the seventh year after the death of Muhammed. Very few of the Arabic historians notice the circumstance recorded in it, nor do Ockley, Price, Gibbon, or Marigny mention it.

"The army of Islám sat eight months before the fort of Nasíbín. Now, in and around that city, there were exceedingly large black scorpions, and no man who was bitten by them escaped with his life. The Arab General consequently gave orders that a thousand small jars should be filled with these reptiles, enclosed in loose mould around them, and that they should be thrown at night into the city by the engines. As the jars broke when they fell on the ground, the scorpions crawled out, and killed every one whom they stung. In the morning the garrison

* *Jahan-numá*, p. 438. Niebuhr. *Voyages*, Vol. II. pp. 300—309. Compare also Mannert, *Geographie d. Greich. und Röm.* Vol. V. ii. pp. 216—219. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. VII. i. pp. 128—136.

were so dispirited, and found themselves reduced to such extremities, that they could no longer hold the fort. The Musulmáns taking advantage of their consternation, made a sudden assault, broke open the gates, and slew several who had escaped the venom of the scorpions. It is said that in the time of Noshírwán the fort of Naṣíbín was captured in precisely the same way."

If we concur with the objector, and hesitate to receive this narrative as true, we may perhaps be able to explain it in some other more rational manner. In the first place, it may occur to us as not altogether improbable, that this story owes its origin to the use of the propelling machine called the "Scorpion," which we learn from Vegetius,* was so called, because it threw small javelins with fine points which occasioned death. Others say because the darts were poisoned.†

Later writers may have copied the statement, and put an interpretation upon it suited to their own comprehensions. It is to be observed that the Scorpion was used, even in Europe, as late as 1428 A. D.‡

There seems to be another way of accounting for this improbable story, if we reject the literal meaning of the words, by supposing that a combustible composition, formed of some bituminous substances, was used upon the occasion. We know from several excellent authorities,

* *De re militari.* IV. 32.
† Eschenburg, *Manual,* p. 544.
‡ Muratori, *Script. Ital.* Tom. XXI, 215.

that for many years before the invention of gunpowder, such substances were used in warfare, and, what is still more remarkable, that the cases in which they were enveloped were known by the name of *Scorpions*. Casiri* gives us the following extract from an Egyptian Geographer, called Shahábu-d-Dín,† who flourished about A. D. 1250. "Bodies, in the form of *Scorpions*, bound round, and filled with nitrous powder, glide along, making a gentle noise, then they explode, and throw out flames. But there are others which, cast into the air, stretch along like a cloud, roaring horribly as thunder roars, and on all sides vomiting out flames, they burst, and burn, and reduce to cinders whatever comes in their way." It is also a very curious coincidence, that the ancient Indian weapon, or rocket, called Śatagní, with the etymological meaning of the hundred-slayer, should also signify a *Scorpion*.‡

As there will be occasion again to allude to the early use of gunpowder in the East, there is no need to dwell upon this passage from the Egyptian author with any reference to that subject. It is merely adduced here, to show the undoubted use at an early period of a combustible, called a *Scorpion*.

Now, it is remarkable that Dion Cassius, in speaking of the expedition of Alexander Se-

* *Biblioth. Arab. Hisp.* Vol. II. p. 7.

† Berington gives his name as Ebn Fadhl, but that only shows his parentage.—*Literary History of the middle ages*, p. 438.

‡ See Wilson's *Sanscrit Dictionary*, v. शतघ्नी, and Halhed's *Code of Gentoo Laws*, p. LII.

verus against Atra, which was close to Nisibis, says that, in the last extremity, the Atreni defended themselves by throwing Naphtha* both upon the besiegers and upon their engines, by which they were burnt and destroyed.

Three hundred years before this, the same author tells us, that when Lucullus was besieging Tigranocerta, not fifty miles† from Nisibis, "the barbarians" defended themselves by throwing Naphtha balls against the engines. "This substance is bituminous, and so inflammable that it burns to ashes every thing on which it impinges, nor is it easily extinguished by any thing wet."‡

Nor can we wonder that these noxious implements "fed with naphtha and asphaltus" should have been so frequently and so early used in Mesopotamia; for from the Persian Gulf to the Euxine, from the Dead Sea, where asphaltum floats on the water, to Bákú on the Caspian, where naphtha streams spontaneously through the surface of the soil, and where a boiling lake emits constant flames, the whole country is impregnated with bituminous matter, which is especially abundant on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates§—so that if the Scorpions

* τὸ νάφθα τὸ ἀσφαλτῶδες (Dionis *Hist. Rom.* lxxv. 11.) "of which," he adds, "I have already written"—alluding probably to the passage mentioned in the next paragraph of the text.

† Tacitus says thirty-seven miles. *Annal.* xv. 4.

‡ Dionis *Fragmenta* 178, ex Xiphilino. The same author, in his life of Caligula, tells us of that Emperor's having a machine, which projected a stone, accompanied with thunderings and lightnings.

§ Rich, *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. III. p. 161. See also respecting the immortal fire in Lycia, Plin. *Nat. Hist.* II. 106. Salmasius, *Exercitdat. Plinian*, pp. 244, 245, and Beckmann's notes to the treatise *De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, attributed to Aristotle, p. 283.

alluded to by Abdu-l-Kádir were combustible, there would be no great improbability in the narrative.

But if we reject these solutions as too elaborate and remote, we must fall back upon the literal interpretation, and, improbable as it is; there are many reasons to encourage us to maintain that it is strictly true.

In the first place, the application of living scorpions to such an improbable purpose would not be altogether a novel stratagem. The Táríkh-i-Yemíní tells us, that Khalaf defended himself in the fort of Ark, by throwing from his Catapults snakes upon the besieging army. The following occurs at p. 37 of the lithographed edition :—

يُقَلُّ اِسْتِنْبَاتُهَا بِالظَّنِّ وَالْحِسْبَانِ اِيهَامًا لِلْبَيَاتِ وَاِطِّلَاعًا
مِنْ مَا تُوْفِ الْجِهَاتِ وَقَذْفًا بِحُرُبِ الْاَفَاعِي عَنِ اَفْوَاهِ الْمَجَانِيقِ
وَالْعَرَّادَاتِ حَتَّى يَضْطَرُّوا بِذَلِكَ اِلَى الْاِرْتِحَالِ وَالنَّقْلِ فِي الْمَضَارِبِ
وَالْمَحَالِّ وَبَقُوهُنَاكَ قُرَابَةَ سَبْعِ سِنِينَ عَلَى هَذِهِ الْجُمْلَةِ

M. de Sacy,* in abstracting this passage from the translation of Jerbádkhání, says "ils lançoient sur les troupes de Hossain des cruches remplies de scorpions et de reptiles venimeux." For this there is no authority in the original; but Rashídu-d-dín also says in his Jámiu-t-

* *Notices et Extraits*, Tom. IV. p. 339.

Tawáríkh, that scorpions, as well as snakes, were used upon the occasion. At fol. 8 of his History of Sultán Mahmúd we read :—

وچون نهنگ سوار و پیاده‌را فرو مي‌برد و خلف بفنون زرق وحیل
محاصرانرا پریشان میداشت و هرجائیکه مقام می ساختند سبوها
پر مار و گزدم از فلاخن منجنیق بایشان می‌انداخت و از ما من
ایشان مکمن میساخت

Abú-l-fedá, Mírkhond, and the Tabakát-i-Násirí have nothing on the subject.

Cornelius Nepos and Justin inform us, that by means precisely similar Hannibal dispersed the superior fleet of Eumenes.

"Imperavit (Hannibal) quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale prælium, classiarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentium multitudine consecuturos."*

Then again we find the Atreni, noticed above, making use of this very mode of defence against the troops of the Roman Emperor. Herodian says,† (and Gibbon‡ has declared his account of this reign to be rational and moderate, and consistent with the general his-

* Cornel. Nep. *Hannibal*, 10. See also, Justin *Hist. Philipp.* XXXII. 4.

† This passage and the one given from Dion Cassius refer to the same expedition. We need not stay to enquire whether the difference of the accounts arises from omission or contradiction.

‡ See *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 267.

tory of the age,) "They cast upon them large birds and poisonous animals* which fluttered before their eyes, and penetrated every part of their bodies that was exposed," * * * "so that more perished by these means than by direct attacks of the enemy."†

Frontinus also speaks of this mode of warfare in his book of stratagems ;‡ and we read of something like it being practised by the Soanes, a people of Colchis, near Caucasus, who endeavoured to suffocate, with poisonous exhalations, those enemies, with whom they could not contend in close combat ;§ as well as at the sieges of Jotopata and Jerusalem, when dead bodies of men and horses were thrown by the war-machines on the besieged.‖

Moreover, we know from unquestionable testimony, that scorpions abound so much in the neighbourhood of Nasíbín, as to be the object of special remark by Oriental Geographers.

Istakhrí, or the author translated by Ouseley, speaking of Kurdan, close to Nasíbín, says—"It produces deadly scorpions; and the hill on which it stands abounds in serpents, whose stings occasion death."¶

Abú-l-fedá, quoting Azízí, says, "At Nasíbín there is an abundance of white roses, but a

* The ἰόβολῶν θηρίων refers most probably to scorpions, and though it must be confessed the use of ἰόβολῶν is ambiguous, yet when coupled with θηρίων, the poisonous nature of the missile is evident.
† Herodiani *Histor. Roman*, Lib. III. c. 9.
‡ Sex. Jul. Frontini *Stratagematic*, Lib. IV. c. 7.
§ Strabo, *Geograph.* Lib. XI. c. 2.
‖ Josephus, *Bell. Jud*, Lib. III. c. 7—9.
¶ Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 56.

red rose is not to be seen. There are also deadly scorpions."*

Edrísí also notices, in his geographical work, the deadly scorpions of Nasíbín†.

Taking, therefore, into consideration these concurrent testimonies to the fact of venomous reptiles being sometimes used in warfare, and to their abundance in the vicinity of Nasíbín, we may pronounce in favor of Abú-l-Kádir and his Arab authorities, and declare him justified in exclaiming, " that he had not been guilty of any fabrication, that he had seen the anecdote in books, and had written accordingly; and that, as the accuracy of his statement has been fully verified, he is, by God's grace, relieved from the charge of invention."

* *Geographie d Aboulféda*, p. 283.
† *Recueil d. Voy. et d. Mém.* Tom. VI. p. 150.

Note E.

On Kusdár.

The passage in the text, (p. 153) would seem to imply that Kusdár was a city of India, and it is so called by Abú-l-fedá and Cazvíní. The compiler of the Táríkh-i-Alfí copies the whole of his narrative, with only a few verbal alterations, from the Rauzatu-s-Safá, but the first clause is an addition of his own, from which it appears that Kusdár was by him thought to be the first city conquered in India; but as it was so remote from Jaipál's possessions, it does not seem probable that its capture could have inspired him with such fear for his own safety as the text represents, nor is it proper at any period to place the borders of India so far to the west.

The name of this town is so differently spelt by different authors, that it is not often easy to recognize it in its various disguises.

Its position is sufficiently indicated by the Táríkh-i-Yemíní,* which, speaking of a period subsequent to that noticed in the text, tells us that when Mahmúd thought it necessary to chastise the Governor of Kusdár, because he would not pay his tribute, he gave out that he

* See also *Táríkh-i-Yemíni*, Lith. Ed. p. 316.

was going on an expedition to Herát, and had marched as far as Bust on that route, in order to disguise his intention, when he suddenly turned off towards Kusdár, and came so unexpectedly upon it, that the rebellious Governor came out and supplicated for pardon, and was reinstated after paying a considerable fine, as a penalty for his disobedience.

Kusdár lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khozdar of our maps, the capital of Jhaláwan in Belúchistán.* It is spelt both قزدار and قصدار, according to Abú-l-fedá, but both he and Sádik Isfahání prefer the former. The latter however is the most usual mode of spelling it.

Von Hammer† says that Wilken is correct in writing it Kasdar, but this is by no means authorized by either of the two Geographers mentioned above. Sádik Isfahání‡ spells it Kisdár, and Abú-l-fedá§ Kusdâr, and to his authority we must defer, as he is so very careful in specifying the vowel-points. Briggs calls it in one place Kandahar, in another Khoozdar.‖ The Nubian Geographer calls it Kardán Fardán,¶ and Cazvíní, Kasrán Kasrán.** M. Petis de la Croix calls it Custar, and M. Silvestre de Sacy Cosdar.††

* Masson, *Balochistan, Afghanistan, and Panjab*, Vol. II. p. 41.
† *Gemäldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. IV. p. 106.
‡ *Takwímu-l-Buldán*, p. 122.
§ *Géographie d. Abouféda*, Texte Arabe, pp. 348, 349.
‖ Briggs' *Ferishta*, Vol. I. pp. 15, 123.
¶ *Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 64, 67, 68.
** Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 174.
†† *Notices et Extr. d. MSS.*, Tom. IV. pp. 332, 391.

When Ibn Haukal visited the valley of Sind, he found Kusdár under a separate government, and during the whole period of Arab occupation it was considered a place of importance. He describes it as a city and district between Túrán and Sind. Kusdár is frequently mentioned by Biládorí, as will be noticed hereafter, when we come to the period of the Arab conquest of Sind. He quotes an Arabic poet, who thus rapturously speaks of its merits.

"Almonder has descended into his tomb at Kusdár, deprived of all commerce with people endowed with reason."

"What a beautiful country is Kusdár! how distinguished its inhabitants! and how illustrious both for his worldly policy as well as his religious duties was the man who now lies buried in its soil!"*

* Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 188. Compare also Pottinger, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 36. C. Ritter, *Erdk. von Asien*, Vol. VI. Part I. pp. 714, 715. Gildemeister, *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 25, 209. *Wien Jahrbücher*, No. lxxiii. p. 31. Mirchondi *Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. 146.

XX.

فتوح السلاطين

FUTUHU-S-SALATÍN.

The "Victories of the Sultáns" would seem, if we may judge by the title, to be a General History. It is quoted in the preface of the Tabakát-i-Akberí as one of the authorities on which that history is founded.

Ferishta, under the reign of Ghaiásu-d-Dín Tughlak, quotes this anecdote from it.

"As the king was near the hills of Tirhút, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at the fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and defended by a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty was obtained, and the government of Tirhút was conferred upon Ahmed Khán."

Briggs observes in a note, "I understand this is a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the Jámiu-l-Hikaiát, or other collections of historical romances."

XXI.

خزائن الفتوح

KHAZÁINU-L-FUTÚH.

The "Treasuries of Victories," is also one of the authorities quoted in the preface to the Tabakát-i-Akberí. It does not appear to what particular reigns this work is devoted, but its name would seem to show that it is a General History.

Amír Khusrú, of Dehli, wrote a prose work, to which he gave this name,—without any reason apparently, for it contains nothing historical, and is filled with poetical fancies. It is the same as is mentioned in the Mirát-i-Áftábnumá and in the other biographies of that poet, under the name of Táríkh-i-Aláí.

Another work of this name has been written by a more modern author of Dehli, a Hindú—in which the victories of Lord Lake are celebrated in grandiloquent and verbose, but not very elegant, Persian.

XXII.

طبقات اكبري

TABAKAT-I-AKBERÍ.

This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries.

Notwithstanding that Ferishta pronounces this work defective, he has borrowed from it very freely, and has formed his own history of Hindustán and the Deccan entirely on the same plan. It has been of great service also to other compilers, who have followed in the same track. To this work the author of the Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh confesses himself chiefly indebted for the relation of all events down to A. H. 1002, styling the work as the author himself does, Tabakát-i-Akbershâhí. It is also known as the Táríkh-i-Nizámí, under which name it is also quoted in the Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh, as well as in the Makhzan-i-Afghání, and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence, that the word Nizámí represents the date of composition. In the Rauzatu-t-Táhirín

it appears to be called the Táríkh-i-Sultán Nizámí. But the name by which it is best known in literary circles is the Tabakát-i-Akberí. The compiler of the Sahíhu-l-Akhbár attributes another work on Indian History, under the name of Táríkh-i-Írich, to the author of the Tabakát-i-Akberí, but I am not aware that there is any good authority for the statement.

Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, the author of the Tabakát-i-Akberí, assigns as the reason for composing his work, that there was no history extant which comprehended the transactions of the whole of India, "which is understood to be one-fourth part of the whole world," and that all the minor kingdoms, of which there were separate histories, had lately been absorbed into the dominions of his Majesty, "who I trust may live till he is master of the seven climes!" He quotes twenty-nine different works as his standard authorities, and states in his preface that he brings down the history till the 37th year of Akber's reign, or A. H. 1001,—but in the body of the work he records the events of another year, and expresses a hope that he may live to carry on the work to a later period.

CONTENTS.

This work contains an Introduction, nine Books, and a Conclusion.

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Conclusion.—On the Geography, Topography, and Climate of India.

Size—Folio, containing 1298 pages, of 21 lines to a page.*

The Másiru-l-Umrá gives the following account of our author.

Khwájah Nizámú-d-dín Ahmed was the son of Khwájah Mukím Harví, who was one of the dependants of His Majesty Báber, and who at the latter part of that king's reign, was raised to the office of Díwán of the Household.

After the death of Báber, when Gujrát was conquered by Humaiyún, and the province of Ahmedábád was entrusted to Mírzá Askerí,

* This is the division of the work according to Stewart's "Catalogue of Típú Sultán's Library," but it contains both more and less than I have seen in other copies. In them, as in the author's own preface, the History of the Ghaznevides forms the Introduction, and one of the Books is devoted to a History of Cashmír, comprised in 64 pages. The author says, that the conclusion is devoted to the description of certain remarkable peculiarities of Hindústán, and various wise saws and modern instances. I have not seen this portion. If we allow 20 pages for this, the entire work would amount to 1318 pages.

Khwájah Mukím was appointed Wazír to the Mírzá. He accompanied Humaiyún to Agra, when that monarch fled with precipitation after his defeat by Sher Khán Súr at Chaunsa. The Khwájah subsequently served under Akber.

His son, Nizámu-d-dín, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the clearness of his intellect.

It is stated in the Zakhíratu-l-Khawánín, that, at the opening of his career, he was appointed Díwán of the Household by Akber, but this statement has not been found in any other work.

In the 29th year of Akber's reign, when the Government of Gujrát was entrusted to I'timád Khán, the Khwájah was appointed to the office of Bakhshí of that province, and when Sultán Muzaffar of Gujrát engaged in hostilities, I'timád Khán left the Khwájah's son, together with his own, to protect the city, he himself with the Khwájah having quitted it, with the object of bringing over Shahábu-d-dín Ahmed Khán from Kathrí, which is situated at the distance of 40 miles from Ahmedábád ; but during their absence the city fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the house of the Khwájah was plundered.

After this, in a battle which was fought with those turbulent people, the Khwájah used his best exertions to quell the insurrection with his small body of troops, in conjunction with Shahábu-d-dín Khán and I'timád Khán, but without success ; and he therefore retreated to Pattan.

On the occasion of the Khán Khánán's

attack upon Muzaffar Gujrátí, at Bír Ganj, about six miles from Ahmedábád, the Khwájah was appointed at the head of a detachment to attack the enemy from the rear, but in this action he again did not achieve any success, though he used his best exertions.

Nizámu-d-dín continued for a long time Bakhshí of the province of Gujrát.

In 998 A. H., and the 34th year of the reign, when the government of Gujrát was entrusted to Khán Azam, Súbahdár of Málwa, and Jaunpúr was bestowed upon Khán Khánán, in lieu of his Jágír of Gujrát, Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed was summoned to the king's presence; upon which occasion, with a number of camel-riders, he accomplished 1200 miles by forced marches, and arrived at Lahore* on the festival of the 35th anniversary of the coronation.

His camel-riders and retinue being an object of great attraction and wonderment, the king expressed a desire to inspect them, and as he was much gratified at this exhibition of the Khwájah's taste and ingenuity, he conferred great honors upon him.

In the year 37th of the reign, when Asaf Khán Mírzá Ja'far Bakhshí Begí was ordered to destroy Jalálá Raushání, the Khwájah was appointed to the post of Bakhshí.

In the 39th year of the reign, corresponding with 1003 H., when the king was out on a hunt-

* The Wákiát-i-Mushtákí (MS. fol. 204 v.) says, that the party completed this distance of 600 coss in 12 days, i. e. at the rate of 100 miles a day.

ing excursion, the Khwájah was attacked with a severe fever at Shahám Alí, which reduced him very much. His sons obtained permission from the king to convey him to Lahore, but as soon as they arrived at the banks of the Rávi, the Khwájah expired, and "the crocodile of death dragged him into the sea of annihilation."

Nizámu-d-dín is the compiler of the Tabakát-i-Akberí. * * * * "Since this work cost the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials, and as Mír Ma'súm Bhakarí and other persons of note afforded their assistance in the compilation, it is entitled to much credit. It is the first history which contains a detailed account of all the Muhammedan princes of Hindústán. * * *" From this work Muhammed Kasim Ferishta and others have copiously extracted, and it forms the basis of their histories, deficiencies being supplied by additions of their own; but the Tabakát occasionally seems at variance with the accounts given by the celebrated Abú-l-Fazl. It is therefore left to the reader to decide which of the two authors is the most entitled to credit."

Abid Khán, one of his sons, was favoured with frequent marks of distinction by His Majesty Jehángír, and was employed by him in various capacities.

The office of Bakhshí of the Súbah of Gujrát, which devolved on him by hereditary right, was resigned, owing to a disagreement between him and Abdullah Khán Fíroz Jang, Gover-

nor of that province, by whom he was most shamefully treated.

After resigning the appointment, he took only two sheets, the one wrapped round his waist, and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, and went thus before Jehángír accompanied by several Tákíya Moghuls.

This mark of his humiliation was approved of by the king, and he was pardoned.

He was afterwards appointed an immediate attendant of the king, through the recommendation of the heir apparent, and was subsequently promoted to the office of Díwán of that prince. While holding this employment, he, with Sherif Khán Bakhshí and several others of the body-guard, was killed at Akbernagar in Bengal, in a battle fought by the prince on the burial ground, where the body of the son of Ibráhím Khán Fateh Jang was interred.

Abid Khán had no son. His son-in-law, Muhammed Sherif, was for a short time Governor of a strong fortress in the Deccan, and was afterwards appointed Hájib (chamberlain) of Haiderábád, in which capacity he passed the remainder of his days till his death.*

Abdu-l-Kádir, who, like many others, was as staunch a friend, as he was a bitter foe, gives a very favorable account of Nizámu-d-dín. He says that in carrying into effect his projects of economy, Nizámu-d-dín gave offence to Kalích Khán, but that he received such unqualified

* *Másiru-l-Umrá* s. v. Khwájah Nizámu-d-dín.

support from the Emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of his zeal and integrity, that his opponent, together with his adherents, were soon provided for in distant posts, instead of being kept at Court, to frustrate the endeavours of Nizámu-d-dín to introduce reform into the departments under his control.

"Nizámu-d-dín," continues Abdu-l-Kádir, "left a good name behind him. I was especially attached to him by the ties both of religion and friendship. Tears of sorrow fell from my eyes, and I beat my breast with the stone of despair. After a short time, I bowed in resignation to the heavenly decree, but was so much afflicted by the bereavement, that I vowed I would never thereafter cultivate a new friendship with any other man."

"He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003, and was buried in his own garden at Lahore. There was not a dry eye at his death, and there was no person who did not, on the day of his funeral, call to mind his excellent qualities, and who did not hold between his teeth the back of the hand of the grief."

"The following Chronogram records the date of his death :—

"Mírzá Nizámu-d-dín has departed; in haste, but with honor, has he gone to his final doom. His sublime soul has fled to the celestial regions, and Kádirí has found the date of his death in these words, 'A jewel without price has left this world.'* "

* *Muntakhabu-t-Tawárikh*, (MS. fol. 199 r.)

Extracts.

Upon the death of Sabuktigín, his eldest son, Amír Ismaíl, placed himself on the throne of his deceased father, and determined on depriving Amír Mahmúd of his heritage. Amír Mahmúd overcame him in fight, and ascended the throne of his father.

He marched his army towards Balkh, and took possession of Khorásán. He expelled his contemptible enemies from that country, and on the report of his conquests spreading far and wide, the Khalif of Baghdád, named Alkáder billáh Abbás, sent him a valuable Khilat of such distinction as no Khalif had ever before presented to any King. The Khalif was also pleased to bestow upon him the titles of Amínu-l-Millat and Yemínu-d-Daulah.

At the end of Zí-l-k'ad, A. H. 390, Sultán Mahmúd proceeded from Balkh to Herát, whence marching on Sístán, he reduced to subjection the ruler of that place, named Khalaf Bin Ahmed, and after visiting Ghazní, proceeded to Hindustán. There he captured several forts, and on returning to Ghazní, contracted a nuptial alliance with Ilak Khán, and settled on him the forts in question.

In the month of Shawwál, A. H. 391, Sultán Mahmúd marching again towards Hindustán, reached Persháwar (Peshávar) with ten thousand horse. Rájá Jaipál opposed him with ten thousand horse, a considerable body of foot, and three hundred elephants.

The two adverse armies displayed much valour, but Sultán Mahmúd at length was victorious. He took Rájá Jaipál prisoner, together with fifteen of his adherents, consisting of his sons and relatives. Five thousand infidels fell on the field of battle. It is said that there was a necklace of precious stones (called Málá, in Hindí) around the neck of Jaipál, valued by those who saw it at one hundred and eighty thousand dínárs. His relatives also had around their necks very valuable necklaces.

This victory was achieved on Saturday, 8th Muharram, A. H. 392.

The victor afterwards marched against the Fort of Hind, in which Jaipál resided, which he succeeded in capturing.

At the commencement of spring he returned to Ghazní. In the month of Muharram A. H. 393, he proceeded again to Sístán, reduced Khalaf to obedience, and after bringing him to Ghazní, marched back to Hindustán, with the intention of attacking Bhátía, at which place he arrived by way of Múltán. The Rájá of this place, named Bajjar, boasted much of the great number of his soldiers, of his elephants, and of the strength of his forts, and leaving his army to oppose the Sultán, he himself fled with a small number of his followers to the banks of the

Indus. The Sultán, on the receipt of this information, detached a body of troops against the Rájá, who on finding he was surrounded, killed himself with a poniard. His head was brought to the Sultán, who afterwards put many dependants of the vanquished Rájá to the sword, and carrying with him considerable booty in slaves, elephants and precious articles, the produce of India, returned to Ghazní.

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In A. H. 423, Khwájah Ahmed, son of Hasan, obtained the kingdom, and Khwájah Abú Nasr Ahmed, son of Muhammed Abdu-s-Samad, who was celebrated for his wisdom and intellect, having been appointed Wazír under him, he went to Khwárazm, repeopled that country, and returned to the court of Amír Mas'úd at Ghazní. In the year 424, he proceeded to Hindustán, and laid siege to the fort of Sarsí, which is situated near a pass which leads to Cashmír, captured that fort, obtained much booty, and then returned to Ghazní. In 425, he marched to Asal and Sárí. The natives first attempted to oppose him, but were soon brought to obedience by the valiant army of Ghazní, and Amá-Kalíkha, chief of Tibristán, acknowledged submission by agreeing to read the Khutba in the name of Amír Mas'úd, and sent his son Bahman and his nephew Sharvín, son of Surkháb, to Karúkán. Amír Mas'úd now arrived at Naishápúr on his way to Ghazní, the natives of which place complained to him of the grievous oppression they had suffered at the hands of the Turkománs.

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In A. H. 426, Amír Mas'úd had no sooner reached Ghazní, than he was informed that Ahmed, son of Bináltigín had rebelled; he therefore sent Bátha, son of Muhammed Lallí, an officer of the Hindú troops, against him, and upon the meeting of the contending parties, a battle ensued, in which Bátha fell, and his forces were dispersed; Amír Mas'úd, upon hearing this, sent Tilak, son of Jaisen, Commander-in-chief of the Hindús, against him. He defeated Ahmed, and cut off the noses and ears of all those who fell into his hands. Ahmed fled to Mansúra in Sind, and, while crossing the river, was drowned in the foaming stream. When the current carried his body to the bank, his head was cut off, and taken to Tilak, who sent it to Amír Mas'úd at Ghazní.

In 427 H. the new palace was completed, and in it a throne was placed, over which a crown, set with precious stones, and weighing seventy maunds, was suspended by golden chains. When the king sat on the throne, he put the suspended crown over his head, and held a public Darbár. In this same year, he granted a Drum and Banner to Maudúd, sent him to Balkh, and himself marched at the head of his army towards Hindustán. On his arrival at Hánsí, he captured that fort, and obtained con-

siderable booty. He afterwards went to Súnpat, upon which Dípál Harnám, the commander of that fort, fled away to the woods, and concealed himself. The Muhammedans took that fort, razed the Hindú temples to the ground, and carried away much spoil. They next pursued Dípál, who deserted his own army, and all his troops were either killed or taken prisoners. Amír Mas'úd now marched towards the pass which led to the territory of Rám, who hearing of the Amír's approach, sent a large tribute for his acceptance, saying that he was too old and weak, and could not consequently attend the Amír in person. The Amír accepted his excuse, and did not molest him. He then bestowed a Drum and Banner upon Amír Abú-l-Muhammed, son of Mas'úd, sent him to Lahore, and he himself returned to Ghazní.

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On the 22nd of Shawwál, 650 A. H. Násiru-d-Dín Mahmúd went to Uch and Multán, by way of Lahore. In this expedition, Katlak Khán and Kushlú Khán, the former from Sahaswán, and the latter from Badáún, accompanied the Sultán with their respective armies as far as the Bíáh.

In 651 A. H. the Sultán permitted Alaf Khán to proceed to his Jaghír at Sawálik and Hánsí, and conferred the post of vizárat on Muhammed Juneidí, with the title of Ainu-l-Mulk. He appointed Malik Azzu-d-dín Kashlú Khán, chief Chamberlain, and bestowed the country of Karrah on Eibek, brother of A'zam Khán. He appointed Imámu-d-dín Khán his lieutenant, and afterwards returned to Dehli. In the beginning of Shawwál of this year he marched towards the Bíáh, sent his troops to Tiberhinda, Uch, and Multán, which places had been deserted by Shere Khán, who had been defeated by the Sindians, and had fled to Turkistán. The Sultán having obtained possession of these places, entrusted them to Arslán Khán, and then returned to his capital.

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Ibráhím, the son of Mas'úd, was a just and pious king, celebrated for the excellence of his judgment, and the correctness of his principles. He wrote an excellent hand, and every year sent to Mecca a copy of the Korán written with his own hand, accompanied with costly presents. When, through the peace which was established with the Saljúkís, his mind had been set at rest, he turned his face towards Hindústán, and conquered many towns and forts, and amongst them was a city exceedingly populous, inhabited by a tribe of Khorásání descent, whom Afrásiáb had expelled from their native country. In that city there was a lake, of which the diameter was half a parasang, which never diminished in size, though men and beasts were always consuming it. In consequence of the extensive jungle which surrounded that fort,* there was no access to it—but so completely was it

* This is the only passage in which Nizámu-d-dín calls it a fort.

reduced by the power and perseverance of the Sultán, that he took away no less than 100,000 captives, from which circumstance the value of the other booty may be conceived.*

He died in the year 481 H. and reigned thirty years, though Binákatí assigns to him forty-two years.†

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Sultán Aláu-d-Dín acting with the co-operation of his advisers, resumed every village which was held in Wakf, in In'ám, or in Milk, and resorted to every kind of subterfuge to possess himself of all the money which his subjects had acquired, and to throw it into the Royal Treasury. The people were consequently reduced to the greatest distress, and were in want even of daily sustenance. They were unable to utter even the names of opposition and rebellion, for spies were in every district, every street, and every house, and to such an extent was this system of espionage carried, that even the chiefs and nobles were unable to meet and converse with one another, for fear of having their words misrepresented.

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Sultán Muhammed again resorted to Sargdwárí,‡ and tried to populate the country, and increase the cultivation. He established several new rules of administration, to which he gave the name of Uslúb, and appointed an officer to superintend their execution, who had the title of Déwán Amargöi, but not one of these could ever be carried into effect.

One of his schemes was to measure off a space of thirty coss square, and direct that, whether at that time under cultivation, or not, nothing but first-class crops should be grown within it, and one hundred revenue collectors were directed to mature the project. Some, naked and destitute, and others actuated by the spirit of avarice, undertook to cultivate upon this principle, on the promise of receiving advances in seed and money from the Royal Treasury, all of which was expended to satisfy the necessities of the day, while the recipients calmly awaited the punishment which they knew must befall them.

Within two years, seventy odd lack of Tankas were advanced from the Treasury. Had the Sultán ever returned alive from his last expedition, he would infallibly have slain every factor and cultivator employed in this business.

* See note F.

† So does the Táríkh-i-Guzída. The Rauzatu-s-Safá gives thirty-one years; Ferishta leaves it doubtful. This uncertainty shows how defective the annals of this period are, which is deeply to be regretted, as Ibráhím and his successor are said to have extended the Muhammedan conquests in India further than any of their predecessors.

‡ This place is near Kampil and Patiálí, on the right bank of the Ganges. It was here this madman made two or three abortive attempts to establish something like a new Capital.

Another new scheme of his at Sargdwárí was the peremptory dismissal of all the provincial governors and accountants.

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The last ridiculous project of Muhammed Tughlak Sháh was to add to his kingdom the mountains which intervene between Hind and Chín, for which purpose he sent thither large armies accompanied by his chief nobles and most experienced commanders, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to conquer every part of the hills. When the armies had advanced well into the heart of the mountains, the Hindús of those parts closed up the roads with rocks, and put almost all their invaders to the sword. The few who survived were summarily punished by Sultán Muhammed.

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In 794 A. H., Narsing, Sar, Dádharan, and Bírbhán, Zemíndárs in the Dúáb, rose in rebellion against the Sultán, who despatched Islám Khán to quell it. Narsing in a contest with Islám Khán was defeated, and many of the infidels were killed. The victorious army then pursued Narsing, till he begged for mercy, and was carried as a prisoner by Islám Khán to Dehli.

In the meantime, intelligence being received that Sar and Dádharan had plundered Kasbah Tálgrám, the Sultán went there in person, and when they heard that the king had approached the Black river (Kálínaddí) they took shelter in the fort of Etáwah.

On his arrival at Etáwah, the infidels, having committed their families and effects to the flames, deserted the fort during that night and escaped. Next day, the king ordered the fort to be demolished, and directed his course towards Canauj, and after punishing the infidels of that place, as well as the Ráis of Dalmau, he went to Jalesar, where he built a fortress and gave it the name of Muhammedábád.

In the month of Rajab of the same year, Khwájah Jahán, his vicegerent at the capital, wrote to him to say that Islám Khán was preparing to enter the Panjáb with the design of creating disturbances; the Sultán therefore returned to the capital with his army, and ordered Islám Khán to be brought into his presence to answer the charge laid against him. Islám Khán denied the charge, but his nephew, a Hindú named Jájú, being at enmity with him, gave a false deposition, whereupon the Sultan ordered Islám Khán to be punished, and conferred upon Khán Jahán the office of Wazír. The king also despatched Malik Mukarrabu-l-Mulk with an army to Muhammedábád.

In 795 A. H. being informed that Sar, Dádharan, Jít Sing Ráthore, and Bírbhán, Mukaddam of Bhúígánw, had risen in rebellion, the Sultán deputed Mukarrabu-l-Mulk to repress it. After terms of peace had been agreed upon by the contending parties, Mukarrabu-l-Mulk took the Ráis along with him to Canauj and treacherously murdered them. Rái Sar

escaped and fled to Etáwah, and Malik Mukarrabu-l-Mulk proceeded to Muhammedábád.

In the month of Shawwál, the Sultán proceeded to Mewát, and plundered it, and then returned to Muhammedábád Jalesar, where he fell sick. In the meanwhile, hearing that Bahádar Náhir had plundered some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Delhi, the Sultán directed his course to Mewát, notwithstanding the infirm state of his health.

On his arrival at Kotilah, Bahádar Náhir came out to oppose him, but, being defeated, sought shelter within the fort. As he had there no hope of safety, he escaped to Jhirrú. The Sultán then returned to Muhammedábád in order to superintend the building of a palace which he had ordered to be erected, and at this place his sickness increased.

In the month of Rabíu-l-Awwal, he ordered prince Humaiyún to march against Sarsutí Kokhar, who had revolted and taken possession of the fort of Lahore. The Prince was about to set out for Lahore, when he was informed of the Sultán's demise, which occurred on the 17th of Rabíu-l-Awwal. He therefore gave up his intention, and remained in the city.

Sultán Muhammed Sháh reigned six years and seven months.

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*The reign of Khizr Khán.**

It is related that Malik Mardán Daulat, one of the Amírs of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, had adopted Malik Sulaimán, the father of Khizr Khán when he was an infant, and that one day, in giving an entertainment to Amír Saiyid Jalál Bukhárí (may God sanctify his tomb!) Malik Mardán Daulat ordered Malik Sulaimán to wash the hands of the assembly, and when he readily got up to perform that office, Saiyid Jalál told Malik Mardán Daulat that the young man was descended from a Saiyid, and that therefore it would be unbecoming that he should be ordered to perform so menial a service.

Khizr Khán was a virtuous man, of excellent character, and of unimpeachable veracity. The greatness of his character was a sufficient proof of his noble origin, "Although good actions may be occasionally performed, yet the habitual exercise of virtue depends upon noble origin."

In the time of Sultán Fíroz Sháh, Multán was under the government of Malik Mardán Daulat, and after his death Malik Sheikh succeeded to it, but shortly after died. After this, the government of that country was bestowed by Sultán Fíroz Sháh upon Khizr Khán, and from that time Khizr Khán was considered one of the most eminent dignitaries of the state, and, as

* This and the preceding Extract give us a good idea of the disaffection and anarchy which prevailed, in the neighbourhood of the Capital, about the period of Timúr's invasion.

already related, had fought many severe battles, in all of which victory was on his side, before he took Dehli on the 15th of Rabíu-l-Awwal 817 A. H.

Notwithstanding his possessing the substantial power and authority of a king, he never assumed the title, but called himself Amír Á'lá. He allowed the coin to be stamped, and the Khutba to be read, in the name of Amír Timúr, and subsequently in that of Mírzá Sháh Rukh, but at last the people used to read the Khutba in Khizr Khán's name and to include him also in their blessings. He appointed Malik Tájú to the office of Wázír, and bestowed on him the title of Táju-l-Mulk; Saiyid Sálim was appointed to Saháranpúr, and the provinces of Multán and Fatehpúr were bestowed on Abdu-r-Rahím, the adopted son of Malik Sulaimán, who was also honored with the title of Aláu-l-Mulk. Malik Sarwar was nominated to the office of governor of the city; Malik Khairu-d-Dín Khán to the office of Árizi Mamálik; Malik Kallú to the charge of the elephants; Malik Dáúd, was appointed Chief Secretary; Ikhtiár Khán was sent to administer the affairs of the Dúáb. He also allowed the slaves and dependants of Sultán Mahmúd Sháh to continue to draw their pensions and other allowances, and permitted them to reside at their respective Jágírs.

In this same year he sent Táju-l-Mulk with a strong force to Badáún and Katehar,* in order to put down the turbulent spirits of those provinces. Táju-l-Mulk, crossing the rivers Jumna and Ganges, arrived in Katehar, and punished the Zemíndárs of that country. Rái Narsing fled to the jungles of Aunlah, but being at last reduced to extremities, he agreed to pay the revenue demanded from him.

Mahábat Khán, Governor of Badáún, also offered his submission, and after this, Táju-d-Dín, marching from Badáún along the banks of the Rahab, arrived at the ford of Sargdwárí, and crossing the Ganges there, reached Khor, now called Shamsábád, and punished the infidels of that place, as well as of Kampilah, and then, passing through Sakít, reached Kasbah Pádham, where Hasan Khán, governor of Ráprí and Hamzah, his brother, came to visit him; Rái Sar also came to profess his obedience, and the Rájás of Gwáliár, Raprí† and Chandwár also offered to pay

* Two copies have Kaithal, but Katehar is meant,—the Hindú name of the present province of Rohilkhand. At first, the Muhammedan conquerors called all the country to the east of the Ganges, Katehar; but subsequently, when Sambhal and Badáún were made separate governments, the country beyond the Rámgangá only was called by that name.

† It appears therefore that there was a Rájá, as well as a Governor, of Ráprí, unless we choose to read Síprí, which no copy authorizes. Ráprí, or Raprí, and Chandwár are on the Jumna, a few miles below Agra, in a country full of ravines, and well capable of being defended by a few men against thousands.

the revenue demanded from them. He took the Kasbah of Jalesar from the Rájpúts of Chandwár, and intrusting it to the former Musulmán chiefs of that Kasbah, appointed Shikdárs. Thence he proceeded to Gwáliár, and after plundering and desolating it, took the annual tribute from the Rái of that place, and then went to Chandwár, and after exacting revenue from Bansing, Zemíndár of Chandwár, and the Zemíndárs of Kampil and Patiálí, he returned to Dehli, crossing the Jumna near Chandwár.

In Jamádíu-l-awwal it was reported that some Turkománs of the tribe of Bairam Khán Turkíja had treacherously put to death Malik Sadhú Náhir, appointed by prince Mubárak Khán to the government of Sirhind, and had also taken possession of the fort of Sirhind. Upon this, Khizr Khán directed Zírak Khán to proceed against them with a large army. The Turks fled to the mountains, retreating across the river Satlej. Zírak Khán pursued them, but being unable to do any thing effective, he returned after two months. In the month of Rajab of the same year, hearing that Sultán Ahmed of Gujrát had besieged the fort of Nagore, Khizr Khán, for the purpose of settling this matter, marched in that direction by way of Túdah, and Sultán Ahmed having returned to his country without venturing an action, Khizr Khán directed his course to the city of Nau Urús* Jhayin, one of the towns built by Sultán Aláu-d-dín Khiljí. Iliás, the Governor, came to pay his respects, and Khizr Khán, after punishing the insurgents of that district, directed his course to Gwáliár; but as it was difficult to take the fort, he contented himself with receiving the fixed revenue from the Rái of Gwáliár, and repaired to Biána, and having levied tribute from Shams Khán Ujadí, the ruler of that place, returned to Delhi.

In the year 820 H. intelligence was received of the rebellious proceedings of Túghán, with whom some of the Turks who had killed Malik Sadhú, were implicated. Zírak Khán, the ruler of Sámána, was sent to overawe them. Upon his approach to Sámána the rebels left the fort of Sirhind, and retired towards the mountains. Malik Kamál Badhan, who was imprisoned in the fort, being thus set at liberty, came to pay his respects.

Zírak Khán pursued the enemy to Bábal, and Túghán, the chief of the Turks, came forward to offer his submission, agreed to pay tribute, and delivered up his son as a hostage to maintain peace, and as he expelled from his presence the Turks who had assassinated Malik Sadhú, Zírak Khán returned towards Sámána, and sent the son and property of Túghán to Khizr Khán.

In the year 821, Khizr Khán sent Táju-l-Mulk against Narsing, the Rájá of Katehar, and when his army crossed the Ganges, Narsing abandoned the open country, and took shelter in the jungles of Aunlah; but Táju-l-Mulk having discovered his retreat after

* Literally, *the young bride.* This was a title occasionally bestowed about this time upon a fort which had never been captured.

a little search, defeated him, and took possession of his horses, magazine, and all his property, and the troops of Táju-l-Mulk, having pursued Narsing to the Kamáún hills, obtained large booty, and returned to their camp after five days. After this, Táju-l-Mulk marched towards the banks of the Ganges, by way of Badáún, and having crossed it at Pachlána, despatched Mahábat Khán, ruler of Badáún, to take charge of his own government. He then proceeded to Etáwah, where Rái Sar had fortified himself, and after ravaging the country, accepted the terms solicited by the Rái, and returned to the city in the month of Rabíu-l-ákhir. In the very same year, Khizr Khán set out with the design of punishing his rebellious subjects in Katehar. He first made an example of the insurgents of Col, and crossing the Rahab,* ravaged the district of Sambhal.

In the month of Zí-l-k'adah of the same year, he went to Badáún, crossing the Ganges near Patiálí, whereupon Mahábat Khán being under apprehension for his own safety, fled to Badáún. In Zí-l-hijjah of the same year, Mahábat Khán fortified himself within Badáún, where he was engaged for six months in perpetual struggles to maintain himself against his opponent.

Meanwhile, having ascertained that certain Umrás, such as Kawám Khán and Ikhtiyár Khán, and all the slaves of Mahmúd Sháh, who had deserted Daulat Khán and joined his standard, were engaged in a conspiracy against him, Khizr Khán thought proper to raise the siege, and retire towards Dehli. And on the 20th Jamádíu-l-awwal, while encamped on the bank of the Ganges, he put the whole of the conspirators to death, and then proceeded on his route to Dehli.

After a few days, news arrived that an impostor, assuming the name of Sárang Khán, had collected a force in the hills of Bajwárá. Malik Sultán Shah Bairám Lodí was sent against him, and appointed Governor of Sirhind; where he arrived in the month of Rajab. Sárang left the hills, and on reaching the Sutlej, was joined by the men of Rúpar, but coming to action near Sirhind, he was defeated, and fled to Lahúrí, one of the dependencies of Sirhind. Khwájah Alí Indrání, Zírak Khán, Governor of Sámána, and Túghán Turkíja, Governor of Jálandhar, went to the assistance of Sultán Shah at Sirhind. Sárang fled to Rúpar, and when pursued by the Shah's army, retired again to the hills. The army encamped at Rúpar, and Malik Khairu-d-Dín having been directed to join the army with his own troops, arrived at Rúpar during Ramzán of this year, and remained for some time encamped at the foot of the hills. When the forces of Sá-

* Throughout the Tabakát-i-Akberí the Rahab is evidently the Sote, or Yár-wafádár, of the present day. The origin of the latter name will be found in the extract from the Tawáríkh-i-Muhammed-Sháhí, given at p. 304 of the *Supplemental Glossary*, published at Agra in 1845. Respecting the Rahab, v. supra, p. 32.

rang were entirely dispersed, and many had fled for safety to the hills in disguise, the main body of the army went into quarters. Malik Khairu-d-Dín returned to the capital, Zírak Khán to Sámána, and Sultán Shah remained encamped at Rúpar. Shortly after, Sárang, escaping from the hills, joined Túghán in the Muharram of the year 833, and was treacherously murdered by him.

During this period, Khizr Khán, passing his time luxuriously in his Palace, appointed Táju-l-Mulk to suppress a rebellion of the Zemíndárs of Etáwah. Táju-l-mulk passing through Baran (Bulandshahar) arrived at Kol, where he punished the refractory, and then went to Deolí Jákhan, which is a strong place, and after plundering it, arrived at Etáwah. Rái Sar retired within the fort of Etawah, and after entering into terms, agreed to pay the revenue assessed upon him. Táju-l-Mulk returning by Chandwár, which he ravaged, went towards Katehar, and after taking tribute from Rái Narsing, returned to the city.

In the month of Rajab of the same year, news arrived that Túghán Turkíja had again rebelled, and invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the districts of Mansúrpúr and Pábal. Khizr Khán directed Khairu-d-Dín to proceed against him, who, when he arrived at Sámána, was joined by Zírak Khán, when they pursued Túghán with their combined forces. Túghán, after passing the Sutlej near Lúdhiána, sought asylum with Jasrat Khokhar, and his Jágírs were bestowed upon Zírak Khán. Malik Khairu-d-Dín returned to Dehli.

In the year 824, Khizr Khán marched towards Mewát, for the purpose of punishing the disaffected inhabitants of that tract, who had fortified themselves in the stronghold of Kotilah, belonging to Bahádar Náhir. Upon the very first assault they evacuated the fort, when it was taken possession of by Khizr Khán. The Mewátís fled to the hills, and Khizr Khán, after plundering and dismantling the fort, went towards Gwáliár. On the 8th of Muharram, Tájú-l-Mulk died, and his eldest son, Sikander, succeeded to the Wizárat, under the title of Maliku-s-Shark. After taking tribute from the Rájá of Gwáliár, whose country was laid waste, Khizr Khán went to Etáwah. Rái Sar had, in the meantime, died, and his son, professing obedience, declared himself ready to pay the stipulated revenue.

At this time, Khizr Khán fell ill, and returned to Dehli, and departed to the mercy of God on the 7th of Jamádíu-l-awwal, A. H. 824. His reign lasted seven years, two months, and two days.

* * * * * *

Dariyá Khán, the son of Mubárak Khán, Lohání, obtained the government of Behár. At this time the scarcity of grain became so great, that in order to afford relief to the people the corn-tax was remitted, and orders to this effect were despatched to all parts of the kingdom, and the abolition has continued from that

day to this. At this time the Sultán (Sikander) came to Sáran, and transferred some of the Pergunahs which were in its neighbourhood, and in possession of the Zemíndárs, in Jágír to his own adherents. Thence he proceeded by way of Machlígarh to Jaunpúr, where he sojourned six months, and then went to Patna.*

It is said that the Sultán demanded of Sálbáhan, the Rái of Patna, his daughter in marriage, and upon his refusal, set out to chastise his impertinence, in the year 904. When he reached Patna, he laid waste the whole country, and did not leave the sign of a dwelling standing. But when he arrived before Bandúgarh, which is the strongest fort in the country, and the residence of a Governor, the garrison exhibited such gallantry and determination, that he was compelled to return to Jaunpúr without accomplishing his purpose.

* * * * * *

On the 28th of Zí-l-hijjah A. H. 1000, His Majesty, Akber, owing to the weakness of Prince Khusrú, directed Prince Dániál to remain in charge of the standing camp, while he himself advanced rapidly towards Cashmír, taking the compiler of this work, Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, in company with him, and directing the Prince to move on by easy marches with the ladies of the family, and take up his quarters at Rohtás. He reached Cashmír on the 8th of Maharram, 1001, and spent there 28 days in amusing himself with hunting excursions. He again entrusted the government of Cashmír to Mírzá Yúsuf, and leaving there a party composed of Khwájah Ashraf, Mír Murád Dakhní, together with the son of Fateh Khán and the son of Sheikh Ibráhím, he embarked on the 8th of Safar for Bárah Múlah, which lies on the confines of Cashmír and on the road leading to Pukhlí. In his way he visited the remarkable lake which is surrounded by mountains on the Northern, Southern, and Western sides, and extends 60 miles in circumference. From this lake flows a river, the water of which is remarkably clear. Sultán Zainu-l-Ábidín had filled up the middle part of this lake with stones to the height of one jaríb above the level of the water and raised a magnificent structure upon it. Indeed, no lake in Hindústán has been found to equal this. After visiting this, the king went to Bárah Múlah, and thence proceeded by land towards Pukhlí, on his arrival at which place there fell a shower of rain and hail. The king next proceeded by forced marches to Rohtás, ordering the compiler, Khwájah Názir Daulat, and Khwájakí Fateh-ullah, to follow with the females and household establishment. A strange coincidence occurred upon this expedition. When the king returned from Cashmír, he remarked that it was about forty years since he

* There is some reason to suppose Panna in Bundelkhand is meant; but all copies concur in reading Patna.

had seen snow, and as most of the men in his train, who were brought up in Hind, had likewise never seen any, he declared that it would be an exhibition of God's mercy, if it should so happen that snow should fall, after he had passed through the narrow defiles in the neighbourhood of Pukhlí, to satisfy their curiosity, and it turned out according to his desires.

On the appearance of the new moon of Rabí'u-l-awwal, he arrived at the fort of Rohtás; and on the 15th of the same month, he marched towards the capital, Lahore, where he arrived on the 6th of Rabí'u-s-sání of the same year, after a journey of 20 days, amusing himself occasionally with hunting on the road. In the meantime, intelligence was brought that a battle had taken place between Mánsing and the son and brothers of Katlú Afghán, upon whose death the province of Orissa had come into their possession, and that the Royal party having been victorious, the extensive province of Orissa, which lies on the confines of Bengal, had been absorbed into his Majesty's possessions.

* * * * * *

Husain Khán Tukríya.—He was called *Tukríya*, from the fact of his having issued an order, when he was Governor of Lahore, to the effect that Hindús should bear on their shoulders a discriminating mark, which being called in Hindí, *Tukrí*, obtained for him the nickname of *Tukríya*. He was nephew and son-in-law of Imám Mehdí Kásim Khán, and was a mansabdár of 2000. He died A. H. 983.*

Amír Fateh-ullah Shirází.—In the year 990 H. corresponding with the 26th Ilahí, the Amír arrived at Court from the Deccan, and was received with royal favour. He was directed, in conjunction with the ministers, to examine the returns of the collectors, and to revise the system of accounts. On this duty he was engaged for many years, and, in token of the king's satisfaction, was honoured with the title of Uzdu-l-daulah. He was a very learned man, and was better versed in every kind of knowledge, practical and theoretical, than any man in Khorásán, Irák, or Hindústán. In short, in the whole world he was without a rival. He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he placed a mill-stone on a carriage, which produced flour by a self-generated movement, and he manufac-

* Some of the proceedings of this enthusiast will be noticed in a succeeding article. The *Másiru-l-Umrá* tells us that this order was issued in consequence of his having one day saluted a Hindú, who passed by with a long beard, the distinctive mark of a Musulmán. We do not learn whether this edict was approved or annulled. In the decline of the republic, when a similar measure was proposed at Rome with respect to the slaves, a wise man exclaimed, "quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent!" Seneca, *De Clementia*, I. 24.

tured a gun, which fired twelve balls at a time. In Cashmír, he departed for the land of eternity in the year 997 H.*

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A few days after, Sultán Mahmúd assembled an army, and marched on Shor,† when Jám Báyezíd and Álam Khán, with their followers, advanced to the distance of twenty miles from Shor to oppose him. Their troops were drawn up facing the Rávi, and a letter was despatched to Daulat Khán Lodí, acquainting him with the particulars of their movement. Upon receipt of this intelligence, Daulat Khán Lodí, at the head of the Panjáb forces, came to their assistance before the conflict was at an end, and dispatched a confidential person to Sultán Mahmúd to enter into a negociation for peace; and it was at last through his mediation that the king took his departure for Multán, and that Jám Báyezíd returned to Shor; after which, he himself proceeded to Lahore.

Notwithstanding that the terms of peace had been adjusted by so wise a man as Daulat Khán, yet it did not endure long.

In the interim, Mír Jákar Zand,‡ with his two sons, named Mír Ilahdád and Sháhdád, came to Multán from Maví. It was Mír Sháhdád that introduced the principles of the Shía creed into Multán.

As the Langáh family had great respect for Malik Sohráb Dúdárí, Mír Jákar Zand could not acquire any influence in Multán. He therefore sought the protection of Jám Báyezíd, who treated him with respect, and was pleased to grant a portion of his private domain for the support of the Mír's family.

Jám Báyezíd was a man of obliging character and of generous spirit, and was particularly anxious to promote the interests of the learned and virtuous. He is said to have sent money and other necessary provisions to Multán from Shor, for their especial use, even during the period of actual hostilities. His generosity towards men of talent was so notorious, that many persons of distinction quitted their homes, took up their abode at Shor, and encouraged many others to resort to that place.

* These are among the biographies of contemporary nobles, philosophers, and poets, which are inserted at the close of the reign of Akber.

† Shor, or Shorkote, is twenty-six miles north of Tulamba, and on the road from that place to Jhang. Among the extensive ruins of this place, the most remarkable is a mound of earth, surrounded by a brick wall, and high enough to be seen from a circuit of six or eight miles. Native tradition represents it to be the capital of a Rájá of the name of Shor, who was conquered by a king from the West.—Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 131.

‡ This agrees with the name as given by Briggs, but in the original of Ferishta it is Mír Imád Gurdezí. In many other respects there is a great difference between the original and translation, and it is evident that the translator must have used a different Manuscript in this portion of his work.

Amongst other persons, Mauláná Azíz-ullah, pupil of Mauláná Fateh-ullah, was invited by Jám Báyezíd with many entreaties.

On his approach to Shor, Jám Báyezíd received him with much honor, conducted him to his private apartments, and ordered his servants to pour water over the Mauláná's hands, and then by way of a blessing to sprinkle the same water on the four corners of his house.

There is a curious anecdote concerning the Mauláná and Sheikh Jalálu-d-dín Kureishí, Vakíl of Jám Báyezíd which, though not much to the purpose of this history, is yet here recorded for an example, and as an awakening from the sleep of neglect. It is this—When the Jám received the Mauláná with unusual distinction, the Sheikh went to the Mauláná and told him, that Jám Báyezíd had given him his compliments, and desired that the Mauláná should select for himself one of the slave girls who had been ordered to attend him. The Mauláná sent one of his own servants to Jám Báyezíd and said in reply, "God forbid that a man should ever look upon the women of his friend; moreover such sentiments are unworthy of my advanced age." Jám Báyezíd replied that he had no knowledge of the imputed message. The Maulána being much embarrassed at this, cursed the person that communicated the message to him, saying, "May his neck be broken!" and returned to his home without even seeing Jám Báyezíd, who was not informed of his departure, until he had actually left his dominions.

It so happened that the curse of the Mauláná took effect; for after Sheikh Jalálu-d-dín came to Shor, having deserted the service of Sultán Sikander, he chanced one night to miss his footing, when he fell from an upper story with his head downwards, and literally broke his neck.

After the conquest of the Panjáb in 930 H. by Firdús Makání Zahíru-d-dín Muhammed Báber Bádsháh Gházi, that monarch at the time of his return to Dehli, sent a commission to Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, Governor of Thatta, ordering him to take charge of Multán and its neighbouring districts. He accordingly crossed the river at Bhakkar, and marched towards Multán with a large army.

Sultán Mahmúd now collected all his forces, advanced to the distance of two days journey from the city of Multán, and sent Sheikh Baháu-d-dín Kureishí, successor to the celebrated Sheikh Baháu-d-dín Zakaríyá (may God sanctify his sepulchre!) as an ambassador to Mírzá Sháh Husain, and appointed Mauláná Behlol, who was noted for the fluency of his eloquence, as well as the purity of his language, to accompany the Sheikh.

The Mírzá received them with much honor, and said that he had come with the view of chastising Sultán Mahmúd, and of visiting Sheikh Baháu-d-dín Zakaríyá's tomb.

The Mauláná stated that it would suffice if Sultán Mahmúd

were to effect his communications at a distance, in the same manner as the Prophet had guided Wais Karní while they were absent from each other, and that Sheikh Beháu-d-dín was already come to his presence, inasmuch as he himself was the representative of Zakaríyá, and that there was therefore no need of his troubling himself to proceed any further.

They were, however, unsuccessful in accomplishing the objects of their interview, and returned to the Sultán, who died suddenly in the same night, poisoned, it is said, by Lashkar Khán, one of his slaves. He died A. H. 931, after a reign of 27 years.

Respecting Sultán Husain, son of Sultán Mahmúd.

After the death of Sultán Mahmúd, Kawám Khán Langáh and Langar Khán, who were the commanders of Sultán Mahmúd's army, deserted their king, and joined Mírzá Sháh Husain Arghún, and having met with a kind reception from him, they subsequently took possession of the different towns of Multán in the name of the Mírzá, while the remaining Langáh Chiefs, confounded at this intelligence, hastened to Multán, and proclaimed the son of Sultán Mahmúd as king, under the title of Sultán Sháh Husain, and read the Khutbah in his name—though he was but a child. But he was king only in name, for Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk Bukhárí, son-in-law of Sultán Mahmúd, assuming the office of Vazír, secured to himself all the regal power.

By the advice of this inexperienced man, the adherents of the Langáh family took refuge in the fort, which had scarcely one day's provision in it; while Mírzá Sháh Husain, deeming the death of Sultán Mahmúd a most convenient opportunity for the conquest of the country, immediately laid siege to the fort.

After a few days, the garrison finding the provisions of the fort were consumed, and that they were about to perish, came to Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk, who was the cause of his country's disasters, and solicited his permission to give the enemy battle, representing at the same time that they had still some vigour left, that their horses were fresh, and that it was not improbable that the gale of victory might incline to their side; and that to remain inactive and beleaguered as they were, was expedient only when there was any hope of receiving succour from without, —which was not at all a probable contingency in their case.

The Sheikh did not make any reply, but retiring to a private apartment, he invited the attendance of some of the Chiefs, and said that as the sovereignty of Sháh Husain Langáh had not as yet been well established, he was afraid, lest most of their men on making a sally from the fort, should take the opportunity to desert, and join Mírzá Sháh Husain, in hope of receiving some

reward for their treachery, and that the small remnant who had any regard for their reputation might fall into the hands of the enemy.

Mauláná Sa'dullah of Lahore, a learned man of that time, who was confined in the fort of Multán on this occasion, relates that a few months after the siege had commenced, when all the avenues of the fort were closed by the enemy, and no one was able to enter for the purpose of rendering assistance, or go out for the purpose of escaping his doom, (for the attempt was attended with certain destruction,) the garrison were at last reduced to such extremities, as to be compelled to consume dogs and cats, which were partaken of with as much avidity as if they had been the choicest goats and lambs.

The protection of the fort was committed by Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk to the charge of a vagabond, named Jádú, who had three thousand militia of the country under him. That wretch entered all the houses wherever he had the least expectation of finding grain, and plundered them so unscrupulously, that the people earnestly desired Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk's destruction.

At last, the besieged were reduced to so desperate a condition, that they preferred being killed by the Mírzá to a slow death by famine, and they accordingly threw themselves down from the walls of the fort; but Mírzá Sháh Husain, being aware of their distress, allowed them a free passage.

After a siege of one year and several months, his men, one night, entered the fort, and put the besieged to the sword, sparing no one between the age of seven and seventy. They next treated most oppressively all the citizens on whom there was the least suspicion of possessing wealth, and treated them with various kinds of indignity. This took place at the close of A. H. 932.

Mauláná Sa'dullah gives an account of those transactions in the following words.

"When the fort was captured by the Arghúns, a party of them entered my house, seized on my father, Mauláná Ibráhím Jáma, who, in studying and teaching the whole circle of sciences for 65 years, had lost the use of his sight, and treated him with the grossest insult. Another person came and bound me, and sent me as a present to the Vazír of the Mírzá.

The Vazír was sitting on a wooden platform in the open area, when I reached his house, and he ordered me to be bound with a chain, of which one end was tied to one of the feet of the platform. I did not, however, grieve for myself, but I could not help shedding tears, when I recollected my father's sad condition.

After a while, he called for his escrutoire, mended his pen, and then rose up with the intention of washing his hands and feet and praying, before he sat down to write. There was no one left within the house but myself, so I approached the platform, and

wrote, on the very paper on which the Vazír had intended to write, the following verse of the work *Bardah*—"Do not your eyes see how I am weeping, and do you never say, 'Weep no more,' and does your heart never suggest to you that you should have pity upon me?" After which, I immediately resumed my place, and began to weep. After his return, when he was just beginning to write, he saw the lines and began to look round to see who might have written them, but finding that there was no body except myself, he wished me to declare if I had written it, and on my confessing to have done so, he enquired more about my affairs, and on hearing my father's name, he immediately got up, released me from my fetters, and having clothed me with a garment of his own, proceeded immediately to the Díwán Khána of the Mírzá, and introduced me to him. The Mírzá sent some one to search after my father, and to bring him to the presence.

The people around the Mírzá were talking upon religious subjects, when my father was admitted to that assembly, and the Mírzá after bestowing Khilats, the one on my father, the other on myself, encouraged my father to relate to him the circumstances of his life, and he accordingly related them, notwithstanding the agitation of his mind. He recounted them with so much pathos and eloquence, that the auditors were charmed with him, and the Mírzá requested the pleasure of his company, on his return to his own country.

The Mírzá ordered all of my father's plundered property to be restored, and that a compensation in money should be given for that which could not be recovered, but my father begged to be excused from accompanying him, saying that he was too old to undertake such a journey, when the time of his preparing for his last pilgrimage was so near; and accordingly he did die only two months after this occurrence."

In short, when the fort was captured, the Mírzá committed Sultán Husain to the custody of an officer, and treated Sheikh Shujá'u-l-Mulk Bukhárí with various indignities, and a large sum of money was daily exacted from him. The country of Multán had by this time been much devastated, so that there was no hope of its attaining its former degree of prosperity, but the Mírzá, nevertheless, not thinking its restoration so very difficult, left the country in charge of Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín, with Langar Khán to assist him, and he himself returned to Thatta. Under the judicious management of Langar Khán, the country was again populated, and he subsequently turned out the Khwájah, with the assistance of the people, and made himself master of the country.

After the death of Báber, Humaiyún succeeded to the throne of Hindústán, and bestowed the Panjáb in Jágír upon Mírzá Kámrán, who sent a message to Langar Khán requesting his attendance,

and on the Khán's waiting upon him at Lahore, he was pleased to confer on him the country of Pábal in exchange for Multán.

Towards the close of the Khán's life, the king assigned as his residence a place at Lahore, now known by the name of Dáira Langar Khán, which is one of the most celebrated quarters of Lahore. From this time forward Multán again came under the dominion of the kings of Dehli.

After the death of Mírzá Kámrán, it passed to Shír Khán, from Shír Khán to Selím Khán, and from him to the officers of His Majesty Akber, all which changes have been mentioned in their respective places.

The Tabakát-i-Akberí is one of the commonest histories procurable in India, but I have met with no remarkably good copy. In the Bodleian Library it is the only work on Indian History noticed by Uri, except an imperfect one on the reigns of Humaiyún, Akber, and Jehángír.*

The Tabakát-i-Akberí commences with :—

سپاس رفعت آساس بادشاه حقیقي را سزد که حل و عقد نظام
عالم و ضبط و ربط بني آدم در وجود عالي و ورود فرمان روایان
معدلت پیشه ومملکت پیرایان نصفت اندیشه ودیعت نهاد

and ends with a promise, which does not appear to have been fulfilled. As several copies, procured from distant places, concur in this reading, and as the author continued almost till the day of his death the history of Akber's reign, it seems probable that he never wrote the Conclusion which he promised in his Pre-

* Uri, *Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Orient Catal.*—Codd. MSS. Pers. xli. lii. liv.

face, and which now is comprised in ten lines. It gives merely the computed area, populousness, and revenue of Hindústán, respecting which the author observes: "Be it not concealed, that the country of Hindústán is comprised within four climates, and is now included in the dominions of the Emperor Akber. Its length from Hindú Koh, on the borders of Badakhshán, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from West to East, is 1680 legal coss. Its breadth from Cashmír to the hills of Barújh, which is on the borders of Súrat and Gujrát, is 800 coss Ilahí. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kamáún to the borders of the Deccan, which amounts to 1000 Ilahí coss. The soil is well adapted for cultivation, and within each coss are several inhabited villages. At the present time, namely A. H. 1002, Hindústán contains 3200 towns (including 120 large cities) and 500,000 villages, and yields a revenue of 64,00,000,000 Tankas." He then finishes with these words:—

وچون تفصیل قصبات را درین مختصر گنجایش نیست تفصیل
شهر ها داده به ترتیب حروف تهجي نوشته خواهد شد

Note F.

On Fire-worship in Upper India.

Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed mentions no other event of Ibráhím's reign but this respecting the Khorásánís.* Abú-l-fedá and the Tabakát-i-Násirí are silent. What the Táríkh-i-Alfí says may be seen at p. 157. The Muntakhabu-l-Tawáríkh has nothing more on the subject than is contained in the Tabakát-i-Akberí. The Rauzatu-s-Safá is the same as the Taríkh-i-Alfí, except that the former omits the name of the place. Ferishta adds a few particulars not to be found in the others. He says :—

"The king marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Derá, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorásán; and were banished thither with their families by Afrásiáb, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state, and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. The king, having with infinite labor cleared a road for his army over the mountains, advanced towards Dérá, which was well fortified. This place was remarkable for a fine lake of water about one parasang and a half in circumference; the waters of which did not apparently diminish, either from the heat of the weather or from being used by the army. At this place the king was overtaken by the rainy season; and his army, though greatly distressed, was compelled to rémain before it for three months. But as soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith.

* Vide p. 189.

Sultán Ibráhím's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Muhammedans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons, whom they carried in bonds to Ghaznî. Some time after, the king accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone, with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which he was then building. This exciting his pity, he commanded the prisoner to throw it down and leave it there, at the same time giving him his liberty. This stone happened to be on the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers, but as the king's rigid enforcement of his commands was universally known, no one attempted to touch it. A courtier one day having stumbled with his horse over the stone, took occasion to mention it to the king, intimating, that he thought it would be advisable to have it removed. To which the king replied, "I commanded it to be thrown down and left there; and there it must remain as a monument of the calamities of war, and to commemorate my sense of its evils. It is better for a king to be pertinacious in the support even of an inadvertent command than that he should depart from his royal word." The stone accordingly remained where it was; and was shown as a curiosity in the reign of Sultán Bairám several years afterwards."

The position of this place is very difficult to fix. Ferishta says that in the year 472 H. Ibráhím marched in person to India, and conquered portions if it never before visited by the Musulmáns. He extended his conquests to Ajúdhan, now called Pattan Sheikh Farid Shakr Ganj. He then went to Rúdpál, situated on the summit of a steep hill, which a river embraced on three sides, and which was protected by an impervious wood, infested by serpents. He then marched to Derá, which Briggs seems to place in the valley of the Indus, because he adds in a note, "Derá seems a common name in the vicinity of Multán for a town." The reading of the Táríkh-i-Alfí with respect to the two first places is much the most probable,

—namely, a fort in the country of Júd* and Damál.

The Rauzatu-s-Safá does not mention the first place, and speaks of the second as if it were on the sea shore. The third place he does not name. In Ferishta it is Derá, and in the Táríkh-i-Alfí, Derápúr. It is possible that the Dehrá of Dehrá Dún may be meant; but, though the belt of mountains, the inaccessible jungle, the seclusion of the inhabitants, and the identity of name, are in favor of this supposition, we at a loss for the inexhaustible lake and the impregnability of the position.

All the authors, however, who mention the circumstance, whether they give the name or not, notice that the inhabitants were banished by Afrásiáb; and this concurrent tradition respecting their expulsion from Khorásán seems to indicate the existence of a colony of Fire-worshippers in these hills, who preserved their peculiar rites and customs, notwithstanding the time which had elapsed since their departure from their native country.

Putting aside the probability, which has frequently been speculated upon, of an original connection between the Hindú religion and the worship of fire, and the derivation of the name

* This country is noticed above at pp. 25 and 159. It lies between the Indus and the Jailam, and is the Ayud of the old travellers. It is the old Sanscrit name, and occurs in the Puranic lists, and on the Allahabad pillar, under the name of *Yaudheya*. Wilford says it is the Hud of the Book of Esther. It occurs also in the marginal legend of the reverse of the Bactro-Pehlevi Coins. See *Journal A. S. Beng.* Vol. VI. p. 973; *As. Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 349. Lassen, *Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morgenlandes*, Vol. III. p. 196.

of Magadha from the Magi, there is much in the practical worship of the Hindús, such as the *hom*, the *gaiatrí*, the address to the sun* at the time of ablution, the prohibition against insulting that luminary by indecent gestures,† —all which would lead an inattentive observer to conclude the two religions to bear a very close resemblance to one another. It is this consideration which should make us very careful in receiving the statements of the early Muhammedan writers on this subject; and the use of the word *Gabr*, to signify not only, especially, a Fire-worshipper, but, generally, an Infidel of any denomination, adds to the probability of confusion and inaccuracy.

European scholars have not been sufficiently attentive to this double use of the word, and all those who have relied upon M. Petis de la Croix's translation of Sherífu-d-dín, have considered that, at the period of Timúr's invasion, fire-worship prevailed most extensively in upper India, because *Gabr* is used throughout by the historians of that invasion, to represent the holders of a creed opposed to his own, and against which his rancour and cruelty were unsparingly directed.

* See Lucian's description of the circular dance peculiar to Indian priests, in which they worship the sun, standing with their faces towards the east.—*De Saltatione.* See also Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 137, 146, Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Art. *Indien*, pp. 166, 172.

† Hesiod enables us to disguise it in a learned language,

Μηδ' ἀντ' ἠελίοιο τετραμμένος ὀρθὸς ὁμιχεῖν.

Op. et Di. v. 672.

See also *Menu*, iv. 52. *Rámáyana* II, 59. Bohlen. *d. alt. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 139.

But though the word is used indiscriminately, there are certain passages, in which it is impossible to consider that any other class but Fire-worshippers is meant. Thus, it is distinctly said that the people of Tughlakpúr* believed *in the two principles of good and evil in the universe, and acknowledged Ahrimán and Yezdan (Ormuzd).* The captives massacred at Loní† are said to have been *Magians, as well as Hindús,* and in the passage quoted in the article HABIB-U-S-SIYAR, it is stated that the son of Safi Gabr threw himself into the fire, *which he worshipped.*

We cannot refuse our assent to this distinct evidence of the existence of Fire-worshippers in upper India as late as the invasion of Timúr, A. D. 1398-9. There is, therefore, no improbability that the independent tribe which had been expelled by Afrásiáb, and practised their own peculiar rites, and whom Ibráhím, the Ghaznevide, attacked in A. D. 1079, were a colony of Fire-worshippers from Irán, who, if the date assigned be true, must have left their native country before the reforms effected in the national creed by Zoroaster.

Indeed, when we consider the constant intercourse which had prevailed from the oldest time between Persia and India,‡ it is surprising that we do not find more unquestionable instances of the persecuted Fire-worshippers seeking an asylum in Northern India, as well as Guzerát.

* Cheriffeddin, *Hist. de Timur,* Tom. III. p. 81.
† Price's *Chronological Retrosp. of Mah. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 254.
‡ Troyer, *Raja Tarangini,* Vol. II. p. 441.

The instances in which they are alluded to before this invasion of Timúr are very rare, and almost always so obscurely mentioned, as to leave some doubt in the mind, whether foreign ignorance of native customs and religious rites may not have given a colour to the narrative.

The evidence of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen-thsang, to the existence of sun-worship at Multán in 640 A. D. is very decisive. He found there a "temple of the sun, and an idol erected to represent that grand luminary," with dwellings for the priests and reservoirs for ablution;* yet he says the city was inhabited chiefly by men of the Brahminical religion.

A few centuries before, if Philostratus is to be believed, Apollonius, after crossing the Indus, visited the temple of the sun at Taxila, and Phraotes, the chief of the country, describes the Indians, as in a moment of joy "snatching torches from the altar of the sun," and mentions that he himself never drank wine, except "when sacrificing to the sun." After crossing the Hyphasis, Apollonius goes to a place, which would seem to represent Jwála Mukhí, where they "worship fire" and "sing hymns in honor of the sun."†

When the Arabs arrived in the valley of the Indus, they found the same temple, the same idol, the same dwellings, the same reservoirs,

* *Journal Asiatique*, 4th series, Tom. VIII. p. 298, and *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 393.

† Philostrati *Vita Apollonii*, Lib. II. Capp. 24, 32, Lib. III. Cap. 14.

as had struck the Chinese, but their description of the idol would lead us to suppose that it was a representation of Budh. Bírúní, however, whose testimony is more valuable than that of all other Muhammedans, as he was fully acquainted with the religious system of the Hindús, plainly tells us* that the idol of Multán was called *Aditya*,† because it was consecrated to the *sun*, and that Muhammed bin Kassam, the first invader, suspended a piece of cow's flesh from its neck, in order to show his contempt of the superstition of the Indians, and to disgust them with this double insult to the dearest objects of their veneration.‡

Shortly before Bírúní wrote, we have another instance of this tendency to combine the two worships. In the message which Jaipál sent to Násiru-d-dín, in order to dissuade him from driving the Indians to desperation, he is represented to say, according to the Táríkh-i-Alfí. "The Indians are accustomed to pile their property, wealth, and precious jewels in one heap, and to kindle it with the fire, *which they worship*. They then kill their women and children, and with nothing left in the world they rush to their last onslaught, and die in the field of battle, so that for their victorious enemies the only spoil

* M. Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 141.

† See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 761. *Anthologia Sanscritica*, p. 172. *As. Res.* Vol. I. p. 263. Vans Kennedy, *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 349.

‡ There is nothing in the various origins ascribed to the name of Multán which gives any colour to the supposition that the city was devoted to the worship of the sun. See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 99. *Zeitschrift f. d. K. d. Morg.* Vol. III. p. 196.

is dust and ashes." The declaration is a curious one in the mouth of a Hindú, but may perhaps be considered to indicate the existence of a modified form of pyrolatry in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The practice alluded to is nothing more than the *Johar*, which is so frequently practised by Hindús in despair, as at p. 190, and was not unknown to the nations of antiquity. Sardanapalus performed it, on the capture of Babylon. "He raised a large pyre in his palace, threw upon it all his wealth in gold, silver, and royal robes, and then placing his concubines and eunuchs on it, he, they, and the entire palace were consumed in the flames."* The Saguntines did the same, when their city was taken by Hannibal,† and Arrian gives us an account of one performed by the Brahmins, without noticing it as a practice exclusively observed by that class.‡ The peculiarity of the relation consists in Jaipál's declaration that the Indians *worshipped the fire*, not in the fact of their throwing their property and valuables into it.

The practice of self-cremation also appears to have been common at an earlier period; and there were conspicuous instances of it when foreign nations first became acquainted with India. One occurs above, at p. 155, where this very Jaipál, having no opportunity of dying in the field of battle, committed himself to

* Diodorus Siculus, II. 27.
† Polybius, III. 17. Livy, XXI. 14.
‡ *De Expedit. Alex.* VI. 7.

the flames. Other histories tell us that it was then a custom amongst the Hindús that a king who had been twice defeated was disqualified to reign, and that Jaipál, in compliance with this custom, resigned his crown to his son, lighted his funeral pyre with his own hands, and perished in the flames.

The Greeks and Romans were struck with the instances which they witnessed of the same practice. Calanus, who followed the Macedonian army from Taxila, solemnly burnt himself in their presence at Pasargadæ, being old and tired of his life.* Zarmanochegas, who accompanied the Indian ambassadors sent by a chief, called Porus, to Augustus, burnt himself at Athens, and directed the following inscription to be engraved on his sepulchral monument :— "Here lies Zarmanochegas, the Indian of Bargosa, who deprived himself of life, according to a *custom prevailing among his countrymen.*"†

Strabo correctly observes, on the authority of Megasthenes, that suicide is not one of the dogmas of Indian philosophy, indeed, it is attended by many spiritual penalties,‡ and even penance which endangers life is prohibited.§ There is a kind of exception, however, in favor of suicide by fire and water,‖ but then only

* Diodorus Sic. XVII. 107. Valerius Max. I. viii. *Extern.* 10. Cicero, *Tusc.* II. 22.

† Suetonius, *Augustus*, 21. Strabo, *Geograph.* XV. 1.

‡ Rhode, *Religiose Bildung der Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 451, Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. pp. 286—290.

§ See Wilson's note to Mill's *British India*, Vol. II. p. 417.

‖ Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII. p. 256; where an instance is adduced from the *Raghuvansa* and *Rámáyana*.

when age, or infirmity, makes life grievous and burdensome. The former has of late years gone quite out of fashion, but it is evident that in ancient times there were many devotees ready to sacrifice themselves in that mode.

> Quique suas struxere pyras, vivique calentes
> Conscendêre rogos. Proh! quanta est gloria genti
> Injecisse manum fatis, vitâque repletos
> Quod superest, donasse Diis.———
>
> *Pharsalia* iii. 240

It was, therefore, a habit sufficiently common amongst the Indians of that early period, to make Lucan remark upon it as a peculiar glory of that nation.

All this, however, may have occurred without any reference to fire as an object of worship; but the speech of Jaipál, if not attributed to him merely through Muhammedan ignorance, shows an unquestionable devotion to that worship.

But to continue, Istakhrí, writing a century earlier than this transaction, says, "some parts of Hind and Sind belong to *Gabrs*, but a greater portion to Kafirs and idolaters; a minute description of these places would, therefore, be unnecessary and unprofitable."*

Here, evidently, the Fire-worshippers are alluded to as a distinct class; and these statements, written at different periods respecting the religious creeds of the Indians, seem calculated to impart a further degree of credibility to the specific assertions of Sherífu-d-dín, Khondemír, and the other historians of Timúr's expedition to India.

* Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 146.

But the people alluded to by them need not have been colonies of refugees, fleeing from Muhammedan bigotry and persecution. There are other modes of accounting for their existence in these parts. They may have been Indian converts to the doctrine of Zoroaster, for we read that not only had he secret communication with the Brahmins of India,* but when his religion was fully established, he endeavoured to gain proselytes in India, and succeeded in converting a learned Brahmin, called Tchengri-ghatchah by Anquetil du Perron,† who returned to his native country with a great number of priests. Firdúsí tells us that Isfandiár‡ induced the monarch of India to renounce idolatry and adopt fire-worship, insomuch that not a Brahmin remained in the idol-temples. A few centuries afterwards, we have indisputable testimony to the general spread of these doctrines in Cábul, and the Panjáb. The emblems of the Mithraic§ worship so predomin-

* Bactrianus Zoroastres, cum superioris Indiæ secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quamdam venerat solitudinem, cujus tranquillis silentiis præcelsa Brachmanorum ingenia potiuntur: eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum, purosque sacrorum ritus, quantum colligere potuit, eruditus, ex his, quæ didicit, aliqua sensibus Magorum infudit.

Ammian. Marcell. *Julianus*, XXIII. 6. 33.

† *Zendavesta*, Vol, I. Ch. II. p. 70.

‡ He is said, according to the Zínatu-t-Tawáríkh, to have been the first convert made by Zoroaster, and Gashtásp, his father, was persuaded by the eloquence of the prince to follow his example. The king ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, in order that the precepts of his new faith might be engrossed upon them. In this respect what a contrast is there to Hindú exclusiveness! The Pandits withheld their sacred books from Col. Polier, for fear that he should bind them in calf-skin. Polier, *Mythologie des Indous*, Tom. II. p. 224.

§ Using this word in its usual, though not proper, acceptation. The

ate on the coins of the Kanerkis, as to leave no doubt upon the mind that it was the state-religion of that dynasty.*

Ritter entertains the supposition, that as the Khiljí family came from the highlands which afforded a shelter to this persecuted race, they may have had a leaning to these doctrines, and he offers a suggestion, that the new religion which Aláu-d-dín wished to promulgate, may have been that of Zoroaster,† and that this will account for the Panjáb and the Dúáb being full of his votaries at the time of Timúr's invasion. But this is a very improbable supposition, and he has laid too much stress upon the use of the word *Gabr*, which, if taken in the exclusive sense adopted by him, would show not only that these tracts were entirely occupied by Fire-worshippers, but that Hindús were to be found in very few places in either of them.

After this time, we find no notice whatever of the prevalence of fire-worship in Northern India, and its observers must then have been exterminated, or they must have shortly after been absorbed into some of the lower Hindú communities. It may not be foreign to this part of the enquiry to remark, that on the remotest borders of Rohilkhand, just under the

real Mithraic worship was a fusion of Zoroastrianism and Chaldaism or the Syrian worship of the sun. See the authorities quoted in Guizot's and Milman's notes to Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, Vol. I. p. 340.

* Lassen, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. IX. p. 456, and H. T. Prinsep, *Note on the Histor. Results from Bactrian Coins*, p. 106.

† See Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Part i. pp. 577—79.

hills, there is a tribe called *Gobrí*, who retain some peculiar customs, which seem to have no connection with Hindú superstition. They are said to have preceded the present occupants of the more cultivated lands to the south of the Taráí, and may possibly be the descendants of some of the *Gabrs* who found a refuge in upper India. The name of *Gobrí* would certainly seem to encourage the notion of identity, for the difference of the first vowel, and the addition of a final one, offer no obstacle, any more than they do in the name of *Gobryas*,* who gave information to Socrates on the subject of the Persian religion, and is expressly declared by Plato to be an ἀνὴρ μάγος.

There is another inferior Hindú tribe, to the west of the upper Jumna, and in the neighbourhood of the Tughlakpúr mentioned above, who having the name of *Magh*,† and proclaiming themselves of foreign extraction (inasmuch as they are descendants of Rájá Mukhtesar, a Sarsutí Brahmin, king of Mecca, and maternal

* Plato, *Axiochus*, Tauchnitz, Vol. VIII. p. 204. The same name is common in Herodotus, Xenophon, Justin, and other authors, who deal in Persian History. The warmth of an Irish imagination ascribes to the Greeks a still greater perversion of the original word.

"Hyde," says the enthusiastic O'Brien, "was the only one who had any idea of the composition of Cabiri, when he declared it was a Persian word somewhat altered from Gabri or Guebri, and signifying fire-worshippers. It is true that Gabri now stands for fire-worshippers, but that is only because they assumed to themselves this title which belonged to another order of their ancestors. The word is derived from *gabh*, a smith, and *ir*, sacred, meaning the sacred smiths, and Cabiri being only a perversion of it, is of course in substance of the very same import. * * * * Gobhan Saer means the sacred poet, or the Freemason Sage, one of the Guebhres, or Cabiri." *Round Towers of Ireland*, pp. 354, 386.

† *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 754.

grandfather of Muhammed!!)* would seem to invite the attention of any inquirer after the remnant of the stock of Magians; but all their customs, both religious and social, are of the Hindú stamp, and their only peculiarity consists in being the sole caste employed in the cultivation of *mendhí* (Lawsonia inermis.)†

* This is not at all an uncommon paternity for the lower tribes to assume. There is nothing in which Hindú ignorance is more betrayed, than in these silly attempts to enrol the false prophet amongst their native heroes. See especially Wilford's absurd and dirty story, showing how Muhammed was of Brahminical descent. (*As. Res.* IX. 160.) Wilson considers that the story was manufactured especially for Wilford, but it is traditionally current among the ignorant in some parts of Upper India. (*Note to Mill's India*, II. 176.) The reputed Brahminical origin of Akber is more reasonable, inasmuch as it can be attributed to gratitude, and is not opposed to the doctrine of transmigration; but why Muhammed should also be chosen, whose votaries have proved the most unrelenting persecutors of Hindús, can only be ascribed to the marvellous assimilating powers of their mental digestion, fostered by the grossest credulity and ignorance of past events, which can, as Milton says, "corporeal to incorporeal turn," and to that indiscriminate craving after adaptation, which induces them even now to present their offerings at the shrines of Muhammedans, whose only title to saint is derived from the fact of their having despatched hundreds of infidel and accursed Hindús to the nethermost pit of Hell.

† See also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistan*, Vol. I. pp. c. cxxv. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 74, 81, 212. Vol. XI. p. 76. Vol. XVI. p. 15. Dr. Bird, *Journal As. Soc. Bombay*, No. ix. p. 186. Rammohun Roy, *Translation of the Veds*, pp. 29, 73, 109—118. Malcolm, *History of Persia*, Vol. I. pp. 488—494. Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, pp. xl. 84, 397. *North British Review*, No. ii. p. 376. Klaproth, *Memoirs Relatifs a l'Asie*, Tom. II. p. 81. Ouseley, *Travels in Persia*. Vol. I. pp. 102—146. Ritter, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. pp. 574, 614—619. Rhode, *Religiose Bildung der Hindus*, Vol. I. p. 42; Vol. II. p. 290. Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, pp. 295—302. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I. pp. 30, 149, 153, 188, 217. F. Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie*, Vol. I. pp. 518—524.

XXIII.

تاريخ بداونى

TA'RI'KH-I-BADA'UNI'.

This history, by Mullá Abdu-l-Kádir Malúk Sháh of Badáún, is called by the author, Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh; but as many others have compiled works under that title, I have thought it better to distinguish it by the name most frequently given to it in Hindústán.

It is a general history of India from the time of the Ghaznevides to the fortieth year of Akber; and, in the reign of the latter, is especially useful, as correcting by its prevalent tone of censure and disparagement the fulsome eulogium of the Akbernáma. Despite this systematic depreciation, it has been observed* that Abdu-l-Kádir's narrative conveys a more favorable impression of the character of Akber than the rhetorical flourishes of the Court Journalist.

It concludes with lives of the Saints, Philosophers, Physicians, and Poets, of Akber's reign.

The author, who died at the close of the sixteenth century, was a very learned man, and

* Elphinstone, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 209. *Biographical Dictionary, L. U. K.* Vol. I. p. 583.

frequently employed by the Emperor to make translations into Persian from the Arabic and Sanscrit, as in the case of the Muajjamu-l-Buldán, Jámiu-r-Rashídí, and the Rámáyana; yet, notwithstanding this employment, for which he acknowledges he received, in one present only, one hundred and fifty gold Mohurs and ten thousand Rupees, besides a grant of rent-free land, his distinguished patron receives no favor at his hands. He composed a moral and religious work, entitled Nijátu-r-Rashíd, which he wrote at the suggestion of his friend Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, the historian, and which he must have completed very late in life, because the Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh is mentioned in it. He also informs us that he translated two out of the eighteen Sections of the Mahábhárata, and abridged a History of Cashmír, which, under the annals of A. H. 998, is said to have been translated from the original Hindí by Mulla Sháh Muhammed Sháhábádí,—but apparently not the Ráj Tarangini, for the translation of that work is usually attributed to Maulánà Imádu-d-dín. According to Professor H. H. Wilson* there were frequent remodellings or translations of the same work, but amongst those which he notices he does not mention one by Mullá Sháh Muhammed Sháhábádí.

Many of the translations from the Sanscrit which were made about this period, and those of Abdu-l-Kádir, probably, among the rest, appear to have been executed under the superintendence

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. p. 2.

of Faizí, the brother of the minister Abû-l-Fazl, and he is usually supposed to have been the first Musulmán who applied himself to the language and literature of the Brahmins; but this seems to be a mistake.*

The aversion with which Abdu-l-Kádir Badáúní regarded the Emperor and his able ministers, arose entirely, as he himself frankly confesses, from his own bigoted attachment to the most bigoted of religions, in which it was apprehended that Akber, with their aid and countenance, was about to introduce some dangerous innovations. He acknowledges, however, that he temporised, and never hesitated to make his own religious views subordinate to the primary consideration of self-interest.

Though the author of the Táríkh-i-Badáúní professes to derive his information chiefly from the Táríkh-i-Mubárak-sháhí, and the Tabakát-i-Akberí, indeed, in a passage in the Nijátu-r-Rashíd,† he calls his work a mere abridgment of the Tabakát;—yet, contrary to the usual Indian practice, there is much more original matter in it than such a declaration would lead us to suppose, and the whole narrative, even when avowedly taken from his predecessors, is tinged with his peculiar prejudices, of which many traits will be found even in the brief Extracts which are subjoined.

The author gives the following account of his own work, which was completed A. H. 1004—A. D. 1595-6.

* See Note G. † MS. (Fol. 26, v.)

"The writer, Abdu-l-Kádir Malúk Sháh Badáúní, in obedience to the orders of his Majesty king Akber, finished the abstract of the history of Cashmír in the year A. H. 999, which, at the request of the same monarch, was translated from Hindí into Persian by one of the learned men of his time; but as I cherished a great love for history from my very childhood, and as it was very seldom that my hours were not employed either in the reading or writing some history, I often thought of compiling a brief account of the kings of Dehli, beginning from the commencement of the Muhammedan rule in India to the present time * * * *. But circumstances gave me little opportunity of executing my design, and day after day I encountered numerous obstacles. Moreover, the scantiness of the means of subsistence obliged me to leave my country and friends, and thus the performance of the work was for a time suspended, until my excellent and beloved friend* Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed Bakhshí, went to Paradise. Excellent as is the history composed by this individual, yet I reflected that some additions could possibly be made to it; and I accordingly commenced to abstract briefly the accounts of some of the great kings of India, from the historical works called Mubárak-sháhí and Nizámu-t-Tawáríkh Nizámí, sometimes ad-

* His warm friendship for Nizámu-d-dín has already been shown at p. 185, and it appears to have been reciprocated by Nizámú-d-dín; for in a passage in the Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh (MS. Fol. 174 r.) we find that the Bakhshí had no scruple about giving in false returns, concealing the real cause of the absence of Abdu-l-Kádir.

ding my own observations. Great brevity has been observed in the style, and the use of figurative and flowery language throughout avoided. I have named this work Muntakhabu-t-Tawáríkh. It is hoped that this history, the object of which has been to place upon record the deeds of the great Muhammedan kings, and to furnish the means of transmitting my own reputation to posterity, will rather prove a source of my lasting happiness, than tend to aggravate my misfortunes.

"As it is my intention to write only what is true, I hope that God will forgive me, if I should ever allow myself to descend to the relation of minute and trivial particulars."

At the conclusion, he says that it was at one time his intention to have added a history of Cashmír, Guzerát, Bengal, and Sind, and an account of the wonders of India, but as they had no necessary connection with the history of the Dehli Emperors, he changed his determination, and concluded his labours, in the year of the Hijrí 1004, and as Nizámu-d-dín died in 1003, it would appear that he was only one year employed upon this history. But the preface is not very explicit upon this point, and the meaning must be conjectured.

This is one of the few works which would well repay the labour of translation; but it would require a person to bring to the task a greater degree of knowledge of the Persian language than most Indian Histories demand, as well as a thorough acquaintance with con-

temporary historians; for the author not only uses some uncommon words, but indulges in religious controversies, invectives, eulogiums, dreams, biographies, and details of personal and family history, which interrupt the unity of the narrative, and often render it a difficult matter to restore the broken links of connection. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that these digressions are the most interesting portion of his work, so rarely do the other obsequious annalists dare to utter their own sentiments, especially such as would be ungrateful to a royal ear, or to confess their own errors and foibles, as Abdu-l-Kádir does with so much complacency and indifference. His own knowledge also of contemporary history is so great, that it induces him very often to presume that his reader cannot be ignorant of that with which he himself is so intimately acquainted. He consequently slurs over many facts, or indicates them so obscurely, as frequently to compel a translator to supply the omissions from his own resources and conjectures.

The abstract of Indian History, from the Ghaznevide Emperors to Akber—Akber's history—and the Biographies of holy and wise men, physicians, and poets—each occupy about one-third of the volume, as will be seen from the subjoined abstract. Almost all the headings have been added on the margin by a copyist, the author giving very few, except the names of kings and others whose lives he records; yet these must be of some antiquity, as many copies concur in giving them in the same language and form.

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SIZE—Folio—containing 562 pages, of 23 lines to a page.

EXTRACTS.

Upon the death of Abú Ishák, son of Alaptigín, in A. H. 367, Mamlúk Sabuktigín, who was a slave of Amír Mansúr, son of Núh Sámání, ascended the throne, with the unanimous concurrence of the army, the people, and nobles, and hoisted the standard of conquest.

With the view of prosecuting a religious war, he invaded India, and fought a great battle, on the confines of the country of Koh Júd, with Rájá Jaipál, the ruler of India. Peace was, however, concluded with Jaipál; but the Hindú monarch having afterwards violated the conditions of the treaty imposed upon him, the king marched against him a second time with a disciplined force, consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and a great number of immense elephants. An obstinate battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Lamghánát between the hostile armies; but the zephyr of victory breathing on Amír Násiru-d-dín's banner, the hosts of Jaipál were totally defeated, and he fled towards India. The country as far as Lamghánát fell into Amír Násiru-d-dín's hands, and the Khutbah was ordered to be read, and coins struck and circulated, in his name. Amír Násiru-d-dín, in co-operation with Amír Núh, son of Mansúr Sámání, likewise achieved brilliant victories in Khorásán and Máwaráu-n-nahr.

* * * * * *

Sabuktigín died in the month of Sha'bán 387, A. H., on his way to Ghaznín, having appointed his son Isma'íl as his successor. Mahmúd, the eldest son of Sabuktigín, on receiving intelligence of his father's death, addressed a friendly letter to his brother, in which he expressed his wish for a peaceful settlement of affairs, and proposed that Isma'íl should make over Ghaznín to him, and receive Balkh instead. Isma'íl did not accede to his proposal, and a conflict ensuing between the brothers in consequence, Mahmúd overcame Isma'íl, and after his defeat besieged him in Ghaznín, for a period of six months. The friends of the two brothers at length, interposing their good offices, succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them. Isma'íl paid a visit to Mahmúd, who henceforward was invested with sovereign authority in the kingdom.

About this period, Mahmúd encountered Mahmúd Mansúr, son of Núh Sámání, and the brother of the latter, named Abdu-l Malik, and overcame both. He also vanquished Abdu-l-Malik's officers, by name Fáik and Maktúrún, who had likewise taken the field against him. Thus the territories of Khorásán, Ghaznín and the frontiers of India, fell under the sway of Mahmúd.

Mahmúd's mother being the daughter of the chief of Zábul, he was called "Mahmúd Zábulí;" as Firdausí says, "The auspicious court of Mahmúd Zábulí is a boundless ocean. I dived

into this ocean in search of gems, but found none. My ill-success is to be ascribed to my misfortune, and not to the ocean."

As a complimentary correspondence was carried on between Mahmúd and Al-kádir-billah Abbásí, the Khalífa of Baghdád, the Khalífa sent to Mahmúd a handsome honorary dress, with a present of many costly articles, conferring on him at the same time the titles of Amínu-l-millat and Yemínu-d-daulah.

Mahmúd having marched from Ghaznín to Balkh, and thence to Herát, and having captured both these countries in 387, A. H., returned to Ghaznín.

* * * * * *

In A. H. 729, Buzmasherín, the Moghul, brother of the king of Khorásán, and who had on a previous occasion invaded Hindústán, advanced with a large army to the province of Dehli, captured several forts, and committed ravages and massacres from Lahore, Sámána, and Indrí to the confines of Badáún, and did not retreat till the victorious arms of Islám were arrayed against him. The Sultán pursued him as far as Kalánor, and leaving Fakhru-d-dín Anwar Khán to dismantle that fortress, he returned towards Dehli.

At this juncture, it occurred to the Sultán to double the taxes of the inhabitants of the Dúáb, as they had shown themselves refractory. He instituted also a cattle-tax, and a house-tax, and several other imposts of an oppressive nature, which so depopulated that country as to reduce it almost to a desert.

* * * * * *

Sultán Sekandar, when on his march back to Agra, where he passed the rainy season, invested Sárang Deo with the command of the fortress of Dholpúr.

In the year 910 A. H. after the star Canopus had begun to appear, he commenced his march against the fort of Mandráil, which capitulated to him, on his promising to spare the life of the Rái of that place. He afterwards demolished the temples and fire-altars in that direction, and on his way back to Agra repaired the fort of Dholpúr. After his arrival at Agra, he granted permission to the nobles, who were in attendance on him, to return to their respective Jágírs.

On the 3rd of Safar 911 A. H. a severe shock of an earthquake was felt throughout the whole of India; the very hills shook; edifices of even the firmest foundation were thrown down; the earth clave asunder, and left fissures in different places; villages and trees are said to have been transported, together with the ground upon which they stood, from their original sites, so that the people concluded that these horrors were the harbinger of the day of judgment. The Wákiát-i-Báberí and certain other histories state that this violent shock was not confined to India; it was felt also in foreign countries. The date of this event is represented by the letters constituting the word Kází, and is recorded in the following

distich;—"The earthquake which occurred in the year 911 A. H. shook the soil of Agra with such violence, that the loftiest buildings became like so many humble inns." Indeed, no records tell of so terrible an earthquake since the time of Adam.

In the year 912 A. H. on the appearance of the star Canopus, Sultán Sekandar marched towards the fort of Udantgír. He laid siege to it, and ultimately effected its reduction, though it was attended with great loss on his side. He put most of the infidel garrison to the sword, consigned the rest, with their families, to the fire, razed the temples, and erected large mosques on their ruins.

* * * * * *

Relating to Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sekander Lodí.

Ráí Bikramájít, who succeeded his father Ráí Mán Sing, in the possession of Gwáliár, found himself unable to withstand the royal troops, and was obliged to surrender Bádalgarh,* one of the forts dependent on Gwáliár, and built by Mán Sing. On this occasion, a brazen idol of the Hindús fell into the hands of the Musulmáns, which they sent to Agra. Sultán Ibráhím forwarded it to Dehli, and placed it before one of the gates of the city, whence it was removed to Fatehpúr in the year 902, where the compiler of this history saw it. Plates, and bells, and every kind of instruments, were subsequently manufactured from the metal of which it was composed.

In those days, Sultán Ibráhím, entertaining suspicions against his nobles, fettered and imprisoned most of them, and transported others to various distant places.

* * * * * *

Selím Sháh,† in the beginning of his reign, issued orders that as the Saráís of Sher Sháh were two miles distant from one another, one should be built between them for the convenience of the public; that a mosque and a burial-ground should be attached to them, and that water and victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindú, as well as Muhammedan, travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the Madad-m'ásh and Aima tenures, on which Sher Sháh had erected

* This was the name of the old fort at Agra, which was evidently within the area of the present one, because Jehángír at the opening of his memoirs, says, "my father *demolished* the old fort on the banks of the Jumna, and built a new one." It must, however, have been pretty nearly destroyed before Akber's time, by the explosion mentioned in one of the following extracts.

† The correct name is Islám Sháh, but some historians style him Selím, and most copies of the Táríkh-i-Badáúní pervert it still more by giving the name as Islím.

Saráís and laid out gardens, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits. He took into his pay all the establishments kept up by the nobles, according to the common practice of India, for catching elephants, and let none of them retain even any of the animals already caught, with the exception of one sorry female, adapted only for carrying baggage.

It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the state, the lands enjoyed by the troops, establishing pecuniary payment in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, or revenue, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which served as a guide to the officials of the state;—a measure which obviated the necessity of referring to a Cází or Muftí any case, relating to matters which hitherto had been settled according to the principles and precepts of Muhammedan law.

In order that these circular instructions might be fully comprehended, the nobles in command of ten, eight, or five thousand horse, were ordered to assemble every Friday in a large tent, within which was placed, on an elevated chair, a pair of Selím Sháh's slippers, and a quiver full of arrows. They then bowed down before the chair, one by one, according to their respective ranks; first of all the officer in command of the troops, and then the Munsif, or Amín, and so on; after which, with due respect and obeisance, they took their respective seats, when a Múnshí coming forward commenced reading to them the circular instructions above referred to, which filled eighty sheets of paper, and every difficult point then at issue within the province was decided according to their purport. If any of the nobles committed an act in contravention of these orders, it was reported to the king, who forthwith passed orders directing proper punishment to be inflicted on the offender, as well as on his family.

These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Selím Sháh, and the compiler of this history witnessed the scene above described, when he was young, that is, in the year 955 A. H. when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend his grace to him!) to the camp of Farid Táran, commander of 5000 horse, which was then pitched in the district of Bajwárá, a dependency of Biána.

In the year 954 or 955 A. H. (God knows which year is correct) Khwájah Wais Sarwání, who was appointed to command the expedition against A'zam Humaiyún, fought with the Niázís on the confines of Dhankot, and was defeated. A'zam Humaiyún, flushed with this success, pursued the Khwájah as far as Sirhind. Selím Sháh dispatched a large force against the rebels, and a

battle ensued, in which the Niázís were defeated, and some of their women were made captives and sent prisoners to Gwáliár. Selím Sháh violated their chastity, and distributed among his troops the tents, standards, and other spoil of the Niázís which had fallen into his hands, bestowing upon them the titles which were common among the Niázís; such as Saiyid Khán, A'zam Humaiyún, Sháhbáz, &c. He granted them kettle drums, which were beaten at their respective gates at the stated times. These low persons, being suddenly invested with aristocratic privileges, exalted themselves to the dignity of the dogs of the celestial sphere.

In conformity with the practice of making rounds, which is occasionally observed among the prostitutes of India, they went every Friday night to do homage to Selím Sháh, instead of saying their prayers. On their arrival at the palace, the heralds exclaimed, "Oh king, be gracious enough to cast your Majesty's eyes upon such and such Kháns, who have come to do homage to your Majesty, and are offering up prayers for your health and welfare." This proceeding exceedingly disgusted the Afgháns, who were of the same tribe as the king. The Niází titles, and the standards and drums, which were granted to them by Selím Sháh, are said by some historians to have been bestowed on them after the first battle. God knows whether they are correct or not. Some, again, say that A'zam Humaiyún was defeated in both battles, and was never able again to take the field.

The ranks of the Niázís began to be thinned day by day, and were soon dispersed. In the first instance they took refuge with the Ghakars, in the neighbourhood of Rohtás, and then settled themselves in the hills in the vicinity of Cáshmír. Selím Sháh, with the view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force, and took up a strong position within the hills to the north of the Panjáb, where for the purpose of stationing thánas, he built five fortresses, called Mánkot, Rashídkot, &c. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns, he forced them, for a period of two years, to bring stones and wood for the building of those fortresses, without paying them a single *falus*, or *jítal*. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Ghakars, who gave them no rest, more especially the Ghakars of Adalsú and Shekal, with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Ghakars prowled about like thieves, and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex and rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and then sold them into slavery.

These circumstances sorely afflicted the Afgháns, who felt that they were exposed to every kind of insult, but it was not in the power of any individual to lay their grievances before Selím Sháh; until one day, when Sháh Muhammed Firmalí, a noble noted for his hilarity and jocular speeches, and a presumptuous companion of

the king, exclaimed, "O my liege! last night I dreamt that three bags descended from heaven; one containing ashes; another, gold; and the third, papers; the ashes fell upon the heads of the troops; the gold upon the houses of Hindús; and the papers fell to the lot of the royal treasury." Selím Sháh did not take the allusion ill, and it had the effect of inducing him to promise that he would, on his return to Gwáliár, order his accountants to disburse two years pay to the troops, but his death prevented the fulfilment of this promise.

* * * * * *

Ibrahím Khán, after an unsuccessful action at Khánwa, fled to Biána, which is a strong fort and in a commanding position. Hemún immediately invested it, and skirmishes were of daily occurrence between the contending parties. The fort was well supplied with guns and ammunition, and Ghází Khán, Ibráhím's father, who was in Hindaun, used to throw supplies into it by way of the hills to the west of Biána. Hemún invested the fort for three months, and devastated the whole of the country in the neighbourhood, and my father's library in Basáwar was utterly destroyed.

Account of a famine.

At this time, a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Biána and Dehli, so that one seer of Juwár sold for two and a half Tankas, and even at that price was obtained with difficulty. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by ten and twenties, without either coffin or grave. Hindús perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the Babúl and dry grass, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, mortification ensued on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the "Wrath of God." The author himself witnessed the fact, that men eat their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous, one could scarcely look upon them. What with the scarcity of rain, famine, and uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandmen remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities of the Musulmáns.

Amongst the other incidents of the year 962, was the explosion in the fort of Agra, of which the following is a brief account. When the army of A'dal Khán had left Agra, Ghází Khán sent his own officers with a garrison to protect the property, to keep the fort in a state of preparation, and to lay in provisions, for which purpose they had to examine the several storerooms and workshops. By chance, when some man early in the morning went with a lamp into one of the rooms, a spark fell upon some gunpowder. As

the room communicated with the Magazine, the whole was instantly ignited. The flames reached up to heaven, and the earth quaked, so that the inhabitants of the city thought that the day of Judgment had come, and prayed devoutly when they were roused thus suddenly from their slumbers. Enormous stones and columns were sent flying several coss to the other side of the Jumna, many people were destroyed, and the limbs of men and of animals were blown away, full ten or twelve miles from the Magazine. As the whole fort was called Badalgarh, the date was found in the words—"The fire of Badal."

While Hemún was encamped before Biána, the people died with the word "bread" upon their lips, and while he valued the lives of an hundred thousand men at no more than a barley corn, he fed his five hundred elephants upon rice, sugar, and butter. The whole world were astounded and disgusted at his cruelty and indifference. Hemún, once every day, eat with his own followers in public, and calling the Afgháns to his own table, he would invite them to eat, telling them to take up large handfuls, and he would abuse any one whom he saw eating slowly, and say "how can you with such a slender appetite expect to fight with any rascally Moghul." As the Afgháns had now nearly lost the empire, and were completely subdued and powerless, they could not muster spirit enough to reply to the infidel; and laying aside their valour and impetuosity, for which they are so celebrated, they consented, whether from fear of consequences or hope of reward, to swallow his foul language like so many sweetmeats, adopting the following verses as their maxim.

"In hope of a blessing, you place your hands on my feet;
Give me only bread, and you may lay your slipper on my head."

* * * * * *

In A. H. 966, after I had left Basáwar, and gone to reside with Mihr Alí Beg at Agra, for the purpose of completing my education, the Beg pressed most earnestly upon Sheikh Mubárak Nágorí, my tutor, and Malúk Sháh,* my father (God sanctify his tomb!) his desire that I should accompany him on his projected expedition, and threatened that he would not depart, unless this request was conceded. These two dear guardians being at last persuaded that it was to my advantage to go, consented to the arrangement, and to please them, though an inexperienced traveller, and though compelled for the time to relinquish my usual studies, I started, in the height of the rains, on this perilous journey. Passing through Canauj, Lakhnau, Jaunpúr, and Benares, and seeing all that was to be seen, and holding interviews with several holy and learned personages, I crossed the river Ganges, and arrived at Chunár in the month of Zí-l-k'adah, A. H. 966.

* In another passage he tells us, that his father, Malúk Sháh, died at Agra A. H. 969 (MS. fol. 110 r.)

Jamál Khán sent some of his dependants to meet Mihr Alí Beg, and they conducted him to Jamál Khán's house. The palaces of Sher Sháh and Selím Sháh, and all the ammunition and resources of the fort were shown to him, and he was apparently received with the utmost hospitality and kindness.

When the Firmán was read, which was intended to conciliate Jamál Khán, by conferring upon him five Perganahs of Jaunpúr in In'ám tenure, in lieu of the fort of Chunár, Jamál Khán, thinking it possible that still further favours might be conferred upon him, again addressed a remonstrance to the king, filled with solicitations which it was out of the question could ever be granted, and sought to delay resigning his charge to Mihr Alí, until an answer was received from Court.

He wrote also, at the same time, communications both to Khán Zamán and to Fateh Khán Afghán, governor of Rohtás, in which he concealed and grossly misrepresented the circumstances of the case. When Mihr Alí was fully aware of the perfidy practised by Jamál Khán, and being not without suspicions of the fidelity of Fateh Khán, he left the fort under pretence of taking an airing, and crossing the river in considerable alarm, proceeded direct to Agra, leaving me in the fort alone.

As I thought it best to temporise with Jamál Khán by way of making my own escape, I proposed to him that I should try and bring back Mihr Alí, and effect a reconciliation. To this he acceded, and in the evening I got into a boat with the intention of crossing the river. It so happened, that a storm arose at the time, and a furious wind carried the frail and trembling boat right under the hill of Utárú, which is near the wall of the fort; and if the mercy of God, the ruler of earth and water, had not acted as my steerer, the bark of my life would have been dashed to atoms by the whirlpool of calamity against the hill of death. In the jungle which lies at the foot of the Chunár hills, Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus, one of the greatest saints of India, had resided for twelve years in the practice of asceticism, consuming the leaves and fruits of the forest as his sole food; and so celebrated was he for the fulfilment of his blessings and predictions, that even powerful kings used to come and visit him, and pay their respects. At his hermitage I arrived after my wreck, and had an interview with one of his dependants. He himself was not there, for in this very year he had proceeded from Gujrát to Agra, where he arrived in great pomp and circumstance, accompanied by several disciples, and gave considerable satisfaction to the Emperor by the principles and faith which he professed.

Sheikh Gadáí, with that spirit of jealousy, spite, and avarice, which is a peculiar failing of the saints of Hindústán, was vexed at this intrusion of a rival, and looked upon him, as one shopman does on another, who commences the same trade, in the story directly over his head. Wise men know well the truth of the

adage, "Two of a trade never agree." Khán Khánán, who was much attached to Sheikh Gadáí, did not receive Sheikh Muhammed with that degree of respect and favour which was his due. On the contrary, he assembled divines and learned men, in order to ridicule the treatise of the Sheikh, in which he had said that he had ascended into heaven, and had an interview with God, who assigned him a superiority over the prophet Muhammed, and had written other nonsense equally pernicious and blasphemous. He sent also for the Sheikh, and made him the butt of his contumely—so that the Sheikh, much chagrined, retired to Gwáliár, where he engaged himself in the pursuits of his holy calling, and in making proselytes; and managed to content himself with the proceeds of a Jágír, which yielded a crore of tankas.

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At the time when the compiler of this work resided at Agra, for the purpose of finishing his education, Sheikh Muhammed Ghaus one day passed by in great state, and accompanied by a dense crowd, who rent the air with their acclamations. He was clothed in the garb of a Fakír. I was at first anxious to pay my respects to him, but when I learnt that he was in the habit of rising to receive the salutations of Hindús, that desire vanished, and I was deprived of the satisfaction I had anticipated. Another day, I saw him in the Bázár at Agra, with multitudes of people thronging before and behind him, and he was so constantly occupied in returning the salutations of the people on all sides of him, that he could not sit up erect during the whole time of his airing. Although he was eighty years old, his countenance was wonderfully fresh, and his whole appearance betokened any thing but old age and debility. The mercy of God be upon him!*

On the 20th of the blessed month Ramazán of this year (969 H.) I heard at Sahaswán of the death of my maternal grandfather. He had taught me several sciences, and I was much attached to him. The date of his death is represented by the letters composing the words, "The excellent of his time."

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In A. H. 977, the Perganah of Lakhnor (on the Rámgangá) was transferred from the possession of Husain Khán Cashmíri to that of Mehdí Kásim Khán, who had just returned from Mecca, and had paid his respects to the Emperor at Rantanbhor. Husain

* Among the biographies which are given at the close of the work, one is devoted to the Sheikh, in which the author says, that there was so little pride and self-sufficiency in the Sheikh's composition, that he was never known to utter the monosyllable *mun*, I. The instance he adduces to prove the assertion is, by the studied attempt to avoid the use of that word, more offensive than the most rampant egotism.

Khán* was highly indignant at this, and exclaimed "our friendship is broken, we shall meet no more till the day of judgment." Then sending away his wife, who was the daughter of Mehdí Kásim, to his relations at Khairábád, he himself started on a wild expedition towards the Sewálik hills,† where he arrived at last, loaded with spoils, consisting chiefly of idols, of which he had plundered the people on his way, and of which the pieces were falsely reported to be composed entirely of gold and silver. The hill-men, as is their custom, abandoned the lower hills after a slight resistance, and fled for security to higher elevations, of which the ascent was very dangerous. Husain Khán arrived at last at the place where Sultán Mahmúd, nephew of Pír Muhammed Khán, was slain. He read the fáteha for the pure spirits of the martyrs who fell there, and repaired their dilapidated tombs. He then ravaged the whole country as far as the Kasbah of Wajráil, in the country of Rájá Ranka, a powerful Zemíndár, and from that town to Ajmír, which is his capital. In that place are to be found mines of gold and silver, silks, musk, and other merchandize peculiar to Tibet, from which country he was only distant two days' journey; —when, on a sudden, as has been frequently observed in those mountains, the neighing of the horses, and the sound of the kettle-drums, as well as the voices of his followers, caused the clouds to collect, and so much rain fell, that neither corn nor grass was to be procured.† Famine stared the army in the face, and although Husain Khán, with the most undaunted intrepidity encouraged his men, by representing the wealth of the city and

* This man, of whom some notice has already been taken in the Art. TABAKA'T-I-AKBERI', appears to have been an enthusiast, or a mad man, who could not get over the persuasion that inexhaustible wealth was to be procured, from possessing himself of the mines in the hills. Five or six years afterwards, he plundered the Dúáb, and then made an attack on Basantpúr in the hills, where there was a royal garrison, and died from the effect of a gun-shot wound received there. Abdu-l-Kádir, who declares himself a devoted friend and admirer of Husain Khán, says that, though to all appearance he was a fool, he was in reality a very intelligent man.

An impression of the great wealth of Kamáún was generally prevalent about this time. Ferishta at the conclusion of his work, in speaking of the native Rájás of Hindústán, says:—"The Rájá of Kamáún possesses extensive dominions. A considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing, and copper mines are to be found in the country. The treasures, too, are vast. It is a rule among the Rájás not to encroach upon the hoards of their ancestors; for it is a saying among them, that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use, will become mean and beggarly in spirit, so that, at the present day, fifty-six distinct treasures exist, which have been left by the Rájás of Kamáún, each with the owner's seal upon it."

† This story reminds us of the succour which was so opportunely offered to the army of Marcus Aurelius, when it was engaged in a

the country, in gold, jewels and treasure, they were too much disheartened to second his resolution.

On their retreat, the Káfirs, who were in possession of the passes, showered down stones and poisoned arrows upon them, and most of the bravest of his warriors drank the cup of martyrdom, and many of those, who escaped at the time, died five or six months afterwards from the effects of the poison.

Husain Khán returned to Court, and requested that Kánt Gola* might be conferred upon him in Jágír, in lieu of the one he held before. This was graciously acceded to, and several times he made incursions to the foot of the hills with various success, but he was never able to penetrate into the interior. Many fine fellows, who had escaped half-dead from his first expedition, now felt the malarious influence of the climate, and died off, but not in battle.

After some years, Husain Khán, contrary to the advice and remonstrances of his friends, mustered his forces for a final struggle to get possession of the hills, and perished in the attempt, as, please God, will be mentioned in its proper place.

About this time I went from Lakhnau to Badáún, where I formed a suitable nuptial alliance for my brother, Sheikh Muhammed, whom I loved from my very soul, nay, better than my own soul, for he was endowed with every excellent and angelic quality. Three months did not elapse before he died, he, as well as Abdul-latíf, the light of my eyes, the earliest fruits of the garden of my life (my first born), who, when time cast an evil eye upon him, was carried off, in the twinkling of an eye,† from the cradle to the tomb, and I was suddenly reduced from the happiest to the saddest of men. God created me, and to God shall I return!

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hopeless conflict with the Marcomanni, in the barren mountains beyond the Danube.

> Oh nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
> Æolus armatas hiemes; cui militat æther,
> Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.
>
> Claudian, *De tert. Cons. Honor.* v. 98.

Tertullian, Eusebius, Jerome, and other Christian authors ascribe the miraculous shower to the prayers of the Christian soldiers in the army. Suidas and Dio Cassius to a magician. The fact is indisputable; the cause is more probably explained by our oriental writer. In modern days, it has frequently been observed that severe actions have been followed by rain, and philosophical reasons have been assigned for this curious effect.

* This district, which pretty nearly corresponds with Sháhjehánpúr, in Rohilkhand, is sometiomes styled Kánt *and* Gola. For the position and varying extent of this tract, see *Supplemental Glossary*, Art. Gola.

† This triple repetition of the word *eye* is intended for a witticism —frigid enough, and in a most inappropriate place.

Death of Sheikh Selím Chishtí.

In the year 979 H. the palace at Agra and the palace at Fatehpúr were completed * * *. At the close of the month of Ramazán of this year, Sheikh Selím Chishtí, of Fatehpúr, died. He was one of the chief saints of Hindústán, and his sayings are worthy of commemoration. I will hereafter give a notice of him, please God! in this history.

During this year an unfortunate accident befell the author, of which the following are the particulars. At the period when Kánt Gola was held in Jágír by Muhammed Husain Khán, and when it pleased fate to associate me with him for some time, as I was appointed Judge of that district, I went on a pilgrimage to Makanpúr, where is the tomb of the holy Sheikh, Badí'u-d-dín Sháh Madár, (may God sanctify his secrets!) and I arrived there by way of Canauj. This son of man,—according to the disposition which he inherited from his sinful and ignorant nature, which he imbibed with his mother's crude milk, which is the cause of shame and reproach, and of impudent presumption and final destruction, which descended to him from Adam, which covered the eyes of his wisdom with a film of lust, and enclosed him in the net of lasciviousness,—committed all of a sudden, as was of old forewilled by providence, a gross impropriety within that shrine. Since the chastisement as well as the mercy of God was upon me, I received upon earth the punishment of my sin, by his ordaining that several attendants of the girl whom I fell in love with should inflict nine sword wounds upon my head, hands, and shoulders. They were all slight, except two, one exposed the veins of one of the fingers of my left hand, the other penetrated the bone of my skull, and reached to the brain. I was thus exposed as a brainless fellow, and fainted away, and appeared to be travelling in another world. May God bless my resurrection!

I met with an excellent surgeon in Bángar-mau, who closed my wounds within a week, and in the midst of my pain, I made a vow, that if I recovered I would go to Mecca—a vow which I have not yet been able to perform, but which I hope, God willing! to do before I die, and before some opposing cause intervenes to prevent the execution of that excellent resolve. The rest is with God!

Afterwards, I arrived at Kánt Gola, and had no sooner bathed after my recovery, than I was again laid on my bed by sickness, my body having become scabious from the effect of excessive cold. Husain Khán (may God bless him with eternal Paradise! for he showed himself more than a father to me!) administered some medicine, in the shape of a plaster and electuary, both made from the wood of the tamarisk, and enabled me to proceed on my journey to Badáún, where another surgeon took off the dressings,

and re-opened the wound on my head. I was nearly expiring from the intensity of the pain. * * *

During this year a dreadful fire broke out at Badáún, and an immense number of Musulmáns and Hindús perished in the flames; carriages, conveying the remains of those who were burnt, were driven down to the river, and no one could tell who was a believer and who an infidel. Many who escaped being burnt, rushed to the ramparts, and were so scorched by the flames, that men and women precipitated themselves from the wall in despair. Some had their skins burnt, and were otherwise injured. Water seemed only to add fuel to the flames. All this I witnessed with my own eyes, and heard the noise of the flames with my own ears. A short time before this, a half-witted soothsayer from the Dúáb, who had put up with me in Badáún, said to me one day in private, that I ought to flee out of that city, as some infliction of Providence was about to befall it. But I paid no attention to his vaticinations, as I considered him a mere frequenter of taverns and unworthy of belief.

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Erection of the fort of Súrat, in defiance of the Portuguese infidels.

One day during the year 980, the king went to look at the fort of Súrat, and gave orders to repair the portions that had been battered and destroyed. During his inspection he saw the large mortars, which had been despatched with a powerful fleet and army by Sulaimán Sultán, the Turkish Emperor, to assist in capturing the harbours of Gujrát, and had been left on the sea shore, covered with rust, because Sulaimán Ágá, the admiral, had abandoned the enterprise for some reason or another.* There they

* Muhammedan authors slur over the precipitate retreat, but Sheikh Zainu-d-dín confesses to a panic.—See Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul-mujahi deen*, p. 143. Maffei—who styles the admiral Sulaimán, "Solimanus Peloponnesius, vir enormi non minus adipe, quam avaritiâ et crudelitate notissimus,"—tells us, that the Turks were so terrified by the four lanterns, which the Portuguese hung out from some of the ships of the Goa fleet, that they set sail for Arabia in the utmost alarm, leaving behind them five hundred wounded and a great portion of their ordnance.

Nonnius, (Nuno de Cunha) dum ad subsidium inclusis ferendum reliquam ornat classem, celeriter præmissæ liburnicæ sexdecim ad Madrafabam accesserant noctu, quaternis in singulas puppes luminibus ad speciem augendam haud frustra sublatis: eo quippe terrore Turcæ perculsi, tribus jam millibus suarum amissis, * * * noctis intempestæ silentio conscendunt naves, duobus circiter mensibus in obsidione consumptis; ac vela dant in Arabiam tantâ cum trepidatione, ut saucios quingentos et magnam tormentorum partem fædè reliquerint.

Maffei, *Hist. Indic.* Lib. xi. Vol. II. p. 503.

remained, until Khudáwand Khán had them carried into the fort of Súrat, at the time it was building. The few which remained had been taken to Júnágarh* by the Governor. The king gave orders that some of them, which suited his purpose, should be sent to Agra.†

The reason assigned for Khudáwand Khán's‡ building the fort of Súrat is, that the Feringís used to oppress the Musulmáns in every kind of manner, devastating the country and imprisoning God's servants. At the time of laying the foundations of the fort, they tried to throw every obstacle in the way, by firing cannon from their boats, but all without effect.

That expert engineer laid the foundations of one side within the sea, dug a deep ditch round the two sides which faced the land, and built the walls with stones and burnt bricks. The wall was fifteen yards broad and twenty yards high, and the breadth of the ditch was twenty yards. The stones at the four gates were riveted together by iron grapples, and cemented by molten lead. The work of the stone-masons was so exquisitely finished, that every one was astonished at beholding it, and on the bastion which projected into the sea was erected a gallery with windows, which the Portuguese profess to say is an invention of their own. When the Musulmáns began to erect this Chaukandí,§ the Feringís exerted

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Diogo de Couto says that the stratagem was rendered more effectual by the coincidence of an eclipse of the moon.—*Asia*, Dec. v. Lib. v. Cap. 4. See also Faria-e-Souza, Tom. I. Part iv. Cap. 9.

"Solyman, the Bassa," says Knolles, "a most famous Pyrat, assaulted (in September 1838) Dium, a castle of the Portugals, situate upon the mouth of that great river (Indus), but, in conclusion, after he had many days besieged the castle both by sea and land, and tried the uttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portugals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leaving his great ordnance behind him for haste, returned back again to Aden, a city of great trade in Arabia Felix."—*Turkish History*, Vol. I. p. 451.

* Ferishta, in his reign of Mahmúd Sháh III. of Guzerat, says that they were brought *from* Júnágarh for the defence of Súrat; and this is the most probable, as the ordnance was abandoned at Diú.

† The Mirát-i-Ahmedí says there was only one Sulaimání gun which the king wished to transfer to Agra, but could not find the means of transport for so heavy a piece.—See Bird, *History of Guzerat*, p. 322.

‡ This is the same chief that we read of in Sídí Alí's journal.—See Diez, *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien*, Vol. II. p. 180.

§ It is quite incomprehensible why this building, whatever it was, should have excited so much rancour on both sides. One might suppose it was rather a battery, than a small palace. Literally, it may be said to mean "a four-cornered room." Briggs calls it a four-storied palace. He translates the passage thus:—

"Within the town is a beautiful building, four stories high, which the Hindus call Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Por-

every kind of opposition to obstruct it, and when they found they could not prevail by force, they offered large sums of money to prevent its being built, but Khudáwand Khán, through the regard which he bore to his own religion, sternly refused, and plied the work till it was finished, in contemptuous defiance of the Christians.

* * * * * *

In 980 A. H. Husain Mehdí Kásim Khán, Jágírdár of Kánt and Gola, had gone off to quell the insurgents of Badáún and Patiálí, before he heard of Ibráhím Husain Mírzá's arrival in the neighbourhood of Dehli. In the meantime, Makhdúmu-l-mulk Maulánà Abdullah Sultánpúrí and Rájá Pahár Mal, who were entrusted with the chief direction of affairs, during the king's absence in Gujrát, wrote to Husain Khán from Fatehpúr to inform him that Ibráhím Husain Mírzá had experienced two defeats, and was then in the vicinity of Dehli, and that as no person of importance was now present to defend the capital, he ought to hasten to Fatehpúr without delay.

He accordingly prepared to obey their summons, and was well on his road, having arrived at Udah, in Jalesar, when he learnt that the Rájá of Awesa (Awá Mísa?) still continued the depredations which he had practised since the accession of the king, and had carried his ravages even to the very walls of Agra; that, associated with some powerful nobles, he had been engaged in several hard conflicts, and slain many excellent men, and that at that time he was concealed in the jungle of Mauza Naurái, in the Perganah of Jalesar.

We had scarcely time to ponder on this intelligence, when all of a sudden, while we were marching on the 15th of Ramazán, the men being not on their guard, and going on in separate parties, most of them, also, being wearied with the protracted annual fast,

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tuguese palace. Finding they could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums of money to induce Khoodabunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was rejected."

This differs much from the original, which runs thus:—

"The Feringís said, 'If you will not abstain from building the fort, do not, at any rate, build the Chaukandí after the model of Portugal; and to secure that, we will pay as much money as we offered to prevent your building the fort.' Ghazanfar A'kái Turk, surnamed Khudáwand Khán, replied, "Through the liberality of the Sultán I am in need of nothing, and to show my detestation of you, I shall build this kind of Chaukandí, and secure for myself the peculiar blessings which attend good works." He then sent for the ordnance and other stores, which were called Sulaimání on account of the Turks' having abandoned them, and which were then in Júnágarh, and placed them in different parts of the fort of Súrat, and strengthened it."

History of Guzerat, Mahmúd Sháh III.

I cannot find mention of the transaction in any European author.

an attack was made upon us at mid-day, with matchlocks and arrows. The Rájá of Awesa and his villagers had suspended planks from the boughs of trees, and killed and wounded several of our men from this secure position. At the very commencement of the attack, a ball struck Husain Khán below the knee, and grazed his thigh. He was very nearly fainting and falling from his saddle, but his self-possession enabled him to keep his seat. I threw water on his face, and his immediate attendants, not aware of the accident, at first thought that his fasting had worn him out. I then seized hold of his bridle, for the purpose of carrying him for safety behind a tree, when he opened his eyes, and, contrary to his usual habit, looked sternly at me, and made signs that he was anxious we should dismount and join in the fray, leaving him there to take care of himself.

The contest then raged with fury, and many were killed on both sides. At last, victory inclined towards our party, which was the smallest, and the infidels were put to flight like so many sheep, but not before our sepáhís were so tired, that they could scarcely wield a sword. We had all been so jammed together in the forest, that we could with difficulty tell friend from foe. Some of our men had strength of mind and body enough, to deserve the reward, both of engaging in holy war, and of maintaining a strict fast. I, on the contrary, in my weakness, took a cup of water to moisten my throat, for the want of which some poor fellows died. Several excellent friends of mine attained martyrdom in repelling this attack.

After this victory, Husain Khán returned by rapid marches to Kánt and Gola, and strengthened those places. Shortly after, Ibráhím arrived in the Perganah of Lakhnor, fifteen coss from Sambhal.* As Husain Khán was still suffering from the effects of his wound, he was obliged to be carried on a litter, but nevertheless advanced to Báns Bareillí, in order to force Ibráhím to action, and from Bareillí he made Sambhal in one day by a forced march. Ibráhím, alarmed at this exhibition of confidence and courage, thought it better to decline an action, and retreated by way of Amroha, leaving a distance of seven coss between him and his opponent. Had Husain Khán been compelled to fight, in his then wounded state, God knows what would have happened!

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About this time, Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, son of Sheikh Mubárak Nágorí, arrived at Court. In the same year, the lofty buildings and spacious palaces on the road to Ajmír were brought to completion. The reason of their erection was, that as His Majesty looked upon it as a religious duty to go every year to Ajmír,

* Sambhal was the paternal estate of Ibrahím Husain Mírzá. Gulrukh Begam, his wife, was a daughter of Kámrán Mírzá, and, consequently, Akber's first cousin.

he constructed a building at each stage on the road to that place, and at every coss he erected a pillar and dug a well. On every pillar he fixed, at small intervals from one another, the horns of the antelopes which he had slaughtered during his career. The horns amounted to several hundreds of thousands, and they were placed there as a memorial throughout the world.* The date is represented by the words, "Horn-league," i. e. 981.

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Building of the fort of Piág.

On the 23rd of Safar A. H. 982, His Majesty arrived at Piág (Prayága) which is commonly called Ilhábás, where the waters of the Ganges and Jumna unite. The infidels consider this a holy place, and with the object of obtaining the rewards which are promised in their creed, of which transmigration is one of the most prominent features, they submit themselves to all kinds of punishments and penances. Some place their heads and feet under saws, others split their tongues in two, others enter hell by casting themselves down into the deep river from the top of a high tree.†

His Majesty laid the foundations of the imperial city, which he called Ilhábás, and on the 2nd of Rabí'u-s-sání, he ordered the Prince's boats to proceed to Jaunpúr, from Bijípúr, at the confluence of the Gomatí and Ganges; embarking upon them the ladies of the household, the judges, and magistrates.

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Abú-l-fazl's second introduction to Akber.

In 982 A. H. Abú-l-fazl, whom people choose to call *Allámí*, or a very learned man, one who, at least, managed to set the world in flames, * * * came a second time to Court. * * * Between him and me there was a mutual aversion, on the following account. At the time of the persecution and massacre of the Shías, Mír Habshí and others unanimously represented that Sheikh Mubárak Nágorí, his father, was a Shía, and that he led people astray by his heretical preaching. Some messengers were despatched to bring him to Court, but as the Sheikh had absconded

* The pillar which is in the best state of preservation, is to be seen at Fatehpúr Síkrí, where the garrulous Cicerone gives a very different account of its origin. It is called the *hiran minár*, or "pillar of the antelope."

† See above, p. 35. Here is still further testimony to this tree's being in the open air, at the point of the confluence, to a very late period. It is the celebrated Akhai Bar, or immortal fig-tree. See Wilson, *Specimens of Hindu Theatre*, Vol. I. p. 302.

with his sons, they broke the pulpit of his mosque. He then sought the protection of the shrine of Selím Chishtí in Fatehpúr. Sheikhu-l-Islám, the superintendent, sent him something for his expenses by the way, and recommended him to leave the country, and fly to Gujrát. As he obtained nothing by going to Fatehpúr, he went to Mírzá Azíz Koká, who represented to the king, that Sheikh Mubárak was a good and pious man, that he held no land in In'ám, and enquired what was the advantage of persecuting him. This saved the Sheikh further trouble, and a revolution in his fortune shortly took place. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl ingratiated himself with His Majesty by his unremitting devotion to the king's service, by his temporising disposition, which could reconcile him even to the commission of falsehood to serve his own interests, by his study of the king's temper and sentiments, and by his boundless flattery. When he at last obtained the opportunity, he took his revenge upon the sect which had injured him, by adopting every kind of vile expedient to reduce them to disgrace and infamy. He was the cause not only of the destruction of the men who formerly persecuted his family, but of the grievous disasters which fell upon all God's wise and holy servants, upon the infirm and upon orphans, by the resumption of their allowances in money and rent-free lands. * * * When opposition and remonstrance began to be raised against these harsh proceedings, he used ironically to quote this quatrain, in allusion to his enemies having brought their misfortunes upon their own heads :—

"I have set fire to my barn with my own hands,
As I am the incendiary, how can I complain of my enemy?
No one is my enemy but myself,
Woe is me! I have torn my garment with my own hands."

If any one, at any time, represented that his conduct was opposed to the precept of some learned or religious man, he would say in reply, that the precept quoted was the composition of such and such a grocer, such and such a cobler, such and such a currier, for he thought proper to reject all the wise sayings of Muhammedan Sheikhs and Doctors.

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Prohibition against Pilgrimages.

One night, during the year 982, Khán Jehán mentioned that Makhdúmu-l-mulk Abdullah Sultánpúrí had decided that it was not proper to go on a pilgrimage, and that it was even sinful to do so. When he was asked his reasons, he replied, that there were only two ways to Mecca, one by Irák, the other by Gujrát. By the former, a man would incur the chance of hearing abusive language from the Kazilbáshes, by the latter, he must, before he embarks at sea, suffer the indignity of entering into an engage-

ment with the Feringís, which engagement was headed and stamped with portraits of the Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ.* So that both ways should be prohibited.

Another edict of Makhdúmu-l-mulk's, which was ridiculed in this assembly, was the prohibition of alms-taking, under the pretence that the surplus of his treasury used to be bestowed at the close of the year upon his wives; yet it was asserted that he took good care to recover it again from them before the year came round. It was said that he adduced some other reasons, of which even the Israelites would have been ashamed, but which in reality, according to these Doctors, all resolved themselves into his avarice, perfidy, fraud, vice, and oppression, all which vices were exhibited towards holy men and fakírs, especially those of the Panjáb. They reported also many other stories to his disparagement, ascribing them to his villainy, his sordid disposition, his contemptible conduct, and ended by deciding that he ought to be shipped off by force to Mecca. * * * About this time, Makhdúmu-l-mulk began to fall into discredit, and Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí† succeeded him in the good graces of the king, in which he managed to maintain himself, until his real ignorance was betrayed. * * *

* Maffei mentions a toll, and Osorius tells us that the Portuguese allowed no one to sail without one of their passports. Faria-e-Souza says that these passports were not unfrequently mere "letters of Bellerophon," to the effect that "The owner of this ship is a very wicked Moor; I desire that the first Portuguese captain to whom this is shown, may make a prize of her!".—See Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul-Mujahideen*, pp. 90, 104.

† An account of each of these ecclesiastical judges is given among the Biographies of learned men at the end of the work. That of Abdu-n-nabí will be found among these Extracts.

Respecting Makhdúmu-l-mulk, an intelligent author, who has written on the subject of Akber's deflections from the path of the Muhammedan religion, observes:—

"A learned and pious writer, Makhdúmu-l-mulk, published about this time a tract injurious to Sheikh Abdú-n-nabí. He accused that teacher of having been wrongfully instrumental to the deaths of Khizr Khán Shirwání, who had been condemned for reviling the Propliet and Ali Habsh, who had been charged with heresy. He added also, that the Sheikh was unworthy to mount the pulpit, both because he was subject to a bodily infirmity, and because he had been disavowed by his own father for his perverse and undutiful conduct when a youth. To these attacks Sheikh Abdú-n-nabí replied by calling Makhdúmu-l-mulk, a heretic and a fool. Opinions were divided, some of the religious men sided with one, and some with another; the dispute ran high, and a complete schism ensued. The enemies of Islám took this opportunity to augment the king's disgust and dissatisfaction, and those impressions becoming progressively more intense, he lost in the course of five or six years every particle of his original belief." *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, Vol. I. p. 51.

This year, the king gave orders that the rent-free land throughout his dominions, whether in the shape of Ayma, Madad-m'ásh, Wakf or Pensions, should not be considered valid, and that the revenue-officers should not exclude them from the rent roll, until the Sadar had registered and signed the grants. The consequence was, that the people whose rights were assailed flocked from the farthest east, even to Bhakhar in the west, to represent their grievances. Whoever could manage to procure letters of recommendation from the nobles and people at Court, secured his wishes, and whoever could not obtain a similar introduction, had to give large bribes to Saiyid Abu-r-rasúl, and all the subordinates of the Sheikh, even to the faráshes, door-keepers, grooms and sweepers, and by these means contrived at last to "save his blanket from the whirlpool." He who could not succeed in procuring either of these passports, was well thrashed by the staves of the attendants; besides which, many perished from the effect of the hot air in that immense crowd. Although the king knew all these particulars, yet such was his regard for the Sadar, that he could not be persuaded to remonstrate against his proceedings. Whenever the Sadar sat upon his tribunal in the Díwán-khána, and held public audience, the nobles would, now and then, taking forward some learned and respectable man, represent his case for consideration. But he used to receive them with little respect, and after much entreaty and importunity, some able man, who could explain the Hidaya or any equally abstruse book, would get a paltry 100 Bíghas, more or less, restored to him, and the rest, of which he might have been in possession for many years, would be resumed. But the ordinary run of ignorant and bleareyed fellows, even down to Hindús, would get as much land as they asked for, without question. From these proceedings we may judge of his regard for learning and its professors, and how much its value declined in estimation every day. Even in the middle of the assemblage, while seated "aloft in awful state," if the time for midday prayers came, he would wash his hands, and care not how much water he sprinkled on the faces and clothes of the surrounding nobles. They meekly submitted to the indignity, because they knew it was to the advantage of their clients, and would bestow upon the Sadar every kind of eulogium, compliment, and flattery, to his heart's content, in the hope by this means to secure at last some compensation for the insult. In the time of no former king had any Sadar such extensive powers and jurisdiction.

About this time, the king appointed me a preacher, and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the royal horses with a stamp. I had no fixed salary, but I was told to content myself for the present with this inferior occupation. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, arrived at court about the same time, and received the same appointment, so that we are loaves out of the same oven. Yet he

managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a Mansab of 2000, while poor I, from my inexperience and folly, could not manage to advance myself. I reflected within myself that there were still hopes of securing contentment, that best of possessions! by means of a Madad-m'ásh, which would enable me to retire from the world, and devote myself to study, while free from the cares of the world. But even in this I was doomed to be disappointed.

In the month of Shawwál 983, on my applying for leave of absence, it was refused, but I received a horse with suitable trappings and a Madad-m'ásh of 1000 Bíghas, which was a mere nothing, but was equal to my poor maintenance, and in accordance with the unfriendly disposition of the Sadar and my unlucky fate. I represented that with this small tenure I could not afford to be constantly in attendance at Court, to which the king replied, that he would give me presents also during the marches. Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí too observed, that no person of my quality had received from him so large a quantity of land. As for the presents which I was promised, though twenty-two years have elapsed since my hopes were raised, I have received them but once or twice, and the rest have been concealed behind the veil of night. I continue like a tree stripped of leaves, and these fine promises prove a baseless mirage. I have had to perform services without reward, and to undergo restraints, from which I can now be relieved only by the goodness of God.

* * * * * *

In A. H. 985, the king, after visiting the shrines of the holy saints in the neighbourhood of Dehli, went towards Pálam on a shooting excursion. At the close of the blessed month Ramazán, news reached me at Rewárí, that at Basáwar* a son had been born to me, for which happiness I had been a long time in expectation. On this occasion, I presented an offering of a gold mohur to the king, and requested he would be good enough to name the child. After reading a prayer, he enquired the name of my father and grandfather. I replied, "Malúk Sháh was my father, and he was the son of Jáh." He said, "I call your son Abdu-l-hádí,"—a name which at that time he had, night and day, upon his lips. Notwithstanding that Háfiz Muhammed Amín, the preacher, was constantly urging me not to commit this absurdity, and to invite some learned men to my house to read the whole Kurán, in order to secure a long life to my son, he could not prevail, and at the end of six months my son died.

* This place, which is so frequently mentioned in the course of this history, is within the territory of Bharatpúr, on the road from Agra to Jaipúr. It is situated on the side of a rocky eminence, with a ruinous palace on its summit. Heber calls it Peshawar. See *Narrative of a Journey*, Vol. II. p. 385.

May God be pleased on his account to pardon me in the day of judgment!

From Rewárí I took five months' leave, and went to Basáwar, but on account of sundry affairs of consequence, I unavoidably extended my absence to the period of a year. This unwarranted neglect of duty made me fall in the king's estimation, and by degrees I was comparatively forgotten. To this day even, although eighteen years have since elapsed, I still perform my duty, but am not honored with an interview; and I can neither go in search of other employ, nor maintain a firm footing in my present position.

* * * * * *

Kází Alí Baghdádí, grandson of Mír Kazí Husain Mashedí, was deputed to the Panjáb to make inquiries respecting the lands held in rent-free tenure, under the name of Madad-m'ásh and Ayma. He was directed to resume the old detached tenures, and to include the new grants in one circuit. The grossest frauds had been perpetrated in this department, which were all to be attributed to the dishonesty of Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí and his subordinates.

Shortly after, the king returned towards Fatehpúr and reached Khizrábád Sádhaura on the 3rd of Jamádíu-s-sání, A. H. 986. He there embarked on a boat accompanied by the nobles of the state, but the establishments and camp-followers marched by land to Dehli, at which place his Majesty arrived on the 29th of the same month.

* * * * * *

In A. H. 986, the missionaries of Europe, who are called Pádrís, and whose chief Pontiff, called Pápá (Pope), promulgates his interpretations for the use of the people, and who issues mandates that even kings dare not disobey, brought their gospel to the king's notice, advanced proofs of the Trinity, and spread abroad the knowledge of the religion of Jesus. The king ordered Prince Murád to learn a few lessons from the gospel, and to treat it with all due respect, and Sheikh Abú-l-fazl was directed to translate it. Instead of the inceptive "Bismillah" the following ejaculation was enjoined: "In nomine Jesu Christi,"* that is, "Oh! thou whose name is merciful and bountiful." Sheikh Faizí added to this, "Praise be to God! there is no one like thee—thou art he!" The attributes of the abhorred Anti-Christ were ascribed to our holy prophet by these lying imposters.

* The original has in Persian ای نامی, which can scarcely be said to bear any meaning. Besides, the translation, vile as it is, shows that a foreign language must have been dealt with. It is not difficult to make "in nomine" out of the two Persian words.

Worship of the Sun.

The accursed Bír Bal* tried to persuade the king, that since the sun gives light to all, and ripens all fruits and products of the earth, that luminary should be the object of his worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising, not toward the setting, sun; that he should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cow-dung; that he should adopt the frontal mark and the Bráhminical cord. Several wise men confirmed what he said, by representing that the sun was the chief light of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, that it was a friend to kings, and that kings established periods and eras in conformity with its motions. This was the cause of the worship paid to the sun on the Nau-roz Jaláli, and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne, and to put on clothes of that particular colour, which is sacred to the regent-planet of the day, on which the new year might happen to commence.† He began also, at midnight and at early dawn, to mutter the spells, which the Hindús taught him, for the purpose of subduing the sun to his wishes. He prohibited the slaughter of cows, because the Hindús devoutly worship them, esteeming their dung as pure, considering that the eating of their flesh is unlawful, and sacrificing men instead of them. The reason was also assigned, that physicians have represented their flesh to be productive of sundry kinds of sickness, and to be difficult of digestion.

Abú-l-fazl appointed superintendent of fire-temples.

Fire-worhippers also came from Náusárí in Gujrát, proclaimed the religion of Zerdusht as the true one, and declared reverence to the sun to be superior to every other kind of worship. They also attracted the king's regard, and taught him the peculiar terms, the ordinances, the rites and ceremonies of the Kaiánians; and at last he directed that the sacred fire should be made over to

* This is the epithet by which he is usually characterized by this bitter enemy. Respecting his death in the Yusufzei country, he says, "Bír Bal fled for fear of his life, and being slain, was included amongst the dogs of hell, and met with punishment, slight when compared with his evil deserts. Akber regretted his loss more than that of any other of his chiefs, exclaiming, "why did they not, at least, rescue his body, that it might have been burnt?" Afterwards, he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Bír Bal was pure and undefiled, the rays of the grand luminary were sufficient for his funeral pyre."

† This passage may be interpreted in another way;—that for seven days he wore every day a new dress of the colour sacred to one of the seven planets.

the charge of Abú-l-fazl, and that after the manner of the kings of Persia, in whose temples blazed perpetual fires, he should take care it was never extinguished either by night or day,—for that it is one of the signs of God, and one light from among the many lights of his creation.

From his earliest youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of the Rájás of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to burn the *homi*, which is a ceremony derived from fire-worship; but on the new-year festival of the 25th year after his accession, he prostrated himself before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole Court rose up respectfully, when the lamps and candles were lighted.

On the eighth day after the sun's entering Virgo in this year, he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindú, and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrist by Bráhmins, by way of a blessing. The chiefs and nobles adopted the same practice in imitation of him, and presented on that day pearls and precious stones, suitable to their respective wealth and station. It became the current custom also to wear the Rákhí on the wrist, which means an amulet formed out of twisted linen rags. In defiance and contempt of the true faith, every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions, he treated as a revelation. Those of Islám, on the contrary, were esteemed follies, innovations, inventions of indigent beggars, of rebels, and of highway robbers, and those who professed that religion were set down as contemptible idiots. These sentiments had been long growing up in his mind, and ripened gradually into a firm conviction of their truth.

* * * * * *

Account of an organ.

In A. H. 988, Hájí Habíb-ullah exhibited an organ, which he had brought from Europe, and which was certainly one of the wonders of the world. It was like a large box, and the size of a man. A Feringí sat inside, and struck the wires with the end of a peacock's feather,* producing all kinds of sounds; and although the box was closely watched, yet Feringís, some of a red, some of a yellow colour, kept coming out of it and retiring within it. The people who witnessed this marvel were thunderstruck, and to describe and belaud it as it deserves, would be impossible.

* * * * * *

* The original of this clause is very doubtful, and the meaning is rendered conjecturally.

Translation of the Mahábhárat.

One night during the year 990, the king sent for me, and desired me to translate the Mahábhárat, in conjunction with Nakíb Khán. The consequence was that, in four months I translated two out of the eighteen sections, at the puerile absurdities of which, the eighteen thousand creations may well be confounded. Fancy such injunctions, as how you are to sit, what to eat, and a prohibition against turnips! But such is my fate, to be employed on such works. Nevertheless, I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass!

After this, Mullá Shabrí and Nakíb Khán together accomplished a portion, and another was completed by Sultán Hájí Thanesarí by himself. The Sheikh (Faizí) was then directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections. The Hájí having committed errors in his first translation, was ordered to revise it, under the injunction that he was to leave out nothing of consequence; and he had revised an hundred sheets, when the order was received for his dismissal, and he was sent to Bhakar. He now resides in his native city of Thanesar. Most of the scholars who were employed upon this translation are now said to be likely to accompany the Kauravas and Pándavas in the day of resurrection. May the rest, for their sincere penitence, be spared, by the mercy of God!

The translation was called Razmnáma, and when fairly engrossed and embellished with pictures, the nobles had orders to take copies, and thus secure themselves a blessing. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, who had already written against our religion, wrote the Preface, extending to two sheets. God defend me from his infidelities and absurdities!

* * * * * * *

In A. H. 991, the king erected two buildings outside the city where he might feed fakírs, both Musulmán and Hindú; one he called Khairpúra, the other Dharmpúra. Some of Abú-l-fazl's people had the charge, and used to spend the king's money in procuring food. As the Jogís also used to flock there in great numbers, a separate receiving-house was built for them, and called Jogípúra. Nightly meetings were held in private with some of these men, and they used to employ themselves in various follies and extravagancies, in contemplations, gestures, addresses, abstractions and reveries, and in alchemy, fascination and magic. The king himself was an adept in alchemy, and used to exhibit the gold which he made. One night in the year, called Shív-rát, was appointed for a grand assembly of Jogís from all parts of the country, on which occasion he would eat and drink with them promiscuously.

In A. H. 994, the king held the festival of the anniversary of his coronation, according to the practice established in olden time, during which, every one had free access to the shops, having nothing to pay, and the king himself received the usual presents from the nobles and others, so that even food, scents, and the profits of dancers and fiddlers were carried away into the treasury. From a Mansabdar of 5000 to a humble footman, all had to present offerings; and even I, this powerless atom, who was held in no account at all, except that I used to be styled Hazárí, from holding one thousand Bighas rent-free, and was accustomed to liken myself to the old woman in the story of Joseph (God's blessing on him!), had to present my forty Rupees, which received the honor of being accepted. I do not like my position, and should be glad to be in any other!

During this festival the king's eldest son received a Mansab of 12,000; the second, one of 9000; and the third, one of 7000.

* * * * * *

In A. H. 996, the king called to mind something about the book which I was then translating, and directed Hakím Abú-l-fateh to give me a horse, a shawl, and some other presents, and pointing me out to Sháh Fateh-ullah Uzdu-d-daulah, who was invested with the charge of the Ayma lands, he observed that I was an inhabitant of Badáún, and that as the Sháh had found a flaw in the title of my Madad-m'ásh land in Basáwar, his Majesty had conferred upon me some in Badáún, in lieu of it. Sháh Fateh-ullah then presented in a bag an offering of 1000 Rupees, which, by exactions and other most oppressive means, his agents had recovered from the wretched widows and orphans of Basáwar; and upon his representing that his officers had collected this surplus from the Ayma lands fraudulently alienated from the public rent-roll, the king told him to retain the money for himself. Three months after this, the Sháh died, and when my Firmán was engrossed, I took leave for a year, went first to Basáwar, and then to Badáún, from which place I wished to make a journey to Gujrát, to see Mírzá Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, but delays occurred to prevent my carrying this intention into effect.

* * * * * *

In A. H. 996, the son of the Rájá of Kamáún arrived at Lahore from the Sewálik hills, for the purpose of paying his respects. Neither he, nor his ancestors (the curse of God on them!) could ever have expected to speak face to face with an Emperor. He brought several rare presents, and amongst them a Tibet cow, and a musk-deer, which latter died on the road from the effect of the heat. I saw it with my own eyes, and it had the appearance of a fox. Two small tusks projected from the mouth, and, instead of horns, it had a slight elevation, or bump. As the hind-quarters of the animal were enveloped in a cloth, I could not examine the whole body. They said that there were men in those hills, all

hairy, and men who fly with wings, and they pointed out a tree which yields fruit all the year round. God knows whether all this is true!

* * * * * *

Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí.

Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí, Sadaru-s-sadúr, was son of Sheikh Ahmed, son of Sheikh Abdu-l-kudús, of Gangoh. He went several times to Mecca and Medina. * * * He put on the appearance of great piety. When he was appointed to the Sadárat, he distributed among the people an immense quantity of Madad-m'ásh, Wakf, and Pensions. No Sadar during any former reign had so much power, and no one gave away one-tenth of the Wakf which he did.* The king was for some time so intimate and unceremonious with him, that he would rise to adjust the Sheikh's slippers when he took his leave. At last, through the enmity of Makhdúmu-l-mulk and some other ill-disposed and deceitful doctors, he fell in the king's estimation, and began to be treated very differently. The chief reason of the change was this:—

At the time that the king arrived at Fatehpúr from Bánswára, Kází Abdu-r-rahím, of Muttra, complained to the Sheikh that a rich Bráhmin had taken all the materials, which he had collected for the building of a mosque, and applied them to his own purposes in building a temple for an idol, and that when he remonstrated with him, the Bráhmin, in the presence of a multitude of

* It is quite impossible to reconcile this eulogy with the taunting and acrimonious tone adopted at p. 246; nor does any conceivable variety in the reading of the two texts admit of any essential difference of sentiment; unless indeed, we consider that the grasping Sadar was Makhdúmu-l-mulk, and not Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí; which appears opposed to the whole tenor of the text, and especially to Abdu-n-nabí's declaration at the close of the extract. It is scarcely permitted us to imagine that so grave an author might possibly be indulging in a little playful irony.

The duties and responsibilities of the Sadar resembled those of a Chancellor, or an Ecclesiastical Registrar; the chief difference being, that when the Sadar, as we have seen to be frequently the case, plundered the property of helpless widows and orphans, he was flayed alive, or trodden to death by elephants. As such punishments would be esteemed barbarous in modern times, and as our tortuous system of law generally delights to exercise its sophistries and subtilties in behalf of notorious criminals, there can be little doubt that, if any Sadar were in these days to prostitute the sacred obligations of his office to such infernal purposes, he would escape with impunity:—at least upon earth.

Committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.

people (may his mouth be crammed with mud!) applied foul and abusive language to the Prophet (the peace of God rest with him!) and grossly reviled all Musulmáns. When the Bráhmin was summoned before the Sheikh, he refused to come, so Sheikh Abú-l-fazl was sent to bring him. Sheikh Abú-l-fazl on his return represented what he had heard from the people of Muttra;—namely, that the Bráhmin certainly had used foul language. Upon this, the learned in the law decided, some of them for death, some for public exposure and fine. They were consequently divided into two parties, and held many disputations on the subject. Although the Sheikh went to ask for leave to punish him capitally, the king would give no distinct reply, but said vaguely, that the Sheikh was himself responsible for carrying into execution the sentence of the law, and enquired why he consulted him. During this long suspense the Bráhmin continued in prison, and notwithstanding that the ladies of the royal household used their exertions to get him released, yet, out of regard to the Sheikh, the king would not give his consent.

The Sheikh continued to importune the king for a reply, but all he could get was, that he had already passed his orders, and the Sheikh knew what they were. When the Sheikh returned to his home, he immediately issued orders for the Bráhmin's death. When the king learnt this, he was very angry. The ladies within, and the Hindús without, the palace, exclaimed, "Is this the faithless man whom you have promoted and favored, and has he reached to such a pitch of insolence as not to regard your wishes, and to put an innocent man to death, for the mere purpose of displaying his power and authority?" They continued to pour such-like complaints into the ears of the king, so that he could no longer restrain his indignation. * * * One night, at Anúp-táláo, a conclave of divines assembled, from whom he enquired their opinions on the subject. * * The king at last singled me out, and said, "When ninety and nine opinions are in favor of one course of proceeding, and a hundredth in favor of another, do you think it right that the Muftís should act upon the latter. What is your opinion?" I replied, that it was a legal maxim that punishment should not be inflicted where there was any doubt. The king was sorrowful, and said, "Was not Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí aware of this maxim, that he killed that unfortunate Bráhmin?" I replied, that the Sheikh was certainly a wise man, and that he no doubt had acted in direct contravention of the law, but that he might possibly have adopted that course, to restrain turbulence, and to strike at the root of the people's insolence. * * *

The king's agitation was so great that his hair stood on end, like that of a lion, and some people behind me whispered that I should not carry the controversy any further. All of a sudden, he exclaimed in anger, "You are not at all right." Upon which

I made a low bow, and retired to a little distance. From that day I have abandoned my presumptuous and controversial manner, and take my place apart from the groups which surround the throne. It is only now and then that I venture to advance, and make my obeisance at a respectful distance.

It was on this account that Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí's prosperity declined. * * * He died in the year 991.

* * * * * *

Sheikh Faizí.

He is commonly called the "chief of Poets," but he was in fact a mere Poetaster. He excelled in the minor arts of versification, enigmatic lines and rhyming. In history, in philology, in medicine, in letter-writing, and in composition, he was without a rival. His earlier compositions in verse bear his titular name of Faizí, which he subsequently dignified into Faiází, in order that it might correspond with the grammatical amplification of Allámí, by which his younger brother, Abú-l-fazl, was known, but the change was ill-omened, for he survived to enjoy his last title only one or two months, and then met his death with great alarm and inquietude.

He was an idle and vain talker, a hypocrite, and a haughty, malicious, dishonest, envious, perfidious, and ambitious man. He reviled the three first Khalífas and disciples, the ancestors and descendants of the Prophet, the wise and the excellent, the pious and the saintly, and, in short all Musulmáns in general, and ridiculed the principles of their faith, privately and publicly, by night and by day. His conduct was so abominable, that even Jews, Christians, Hindús, Sabians and Guebres are considered a thousand times less odious. He acted entirely against the tenets of the Muhammedan religion. What was forbidden in that, was lawful to him, and vice versâ.

He composed a Commentary upon the Kurán, consisting entirely of letters without diacritical points, in order to obliterate the spots of his infamy, but the waters of a hundred oceans will never cleanse the stain he has contracted, until the day of judgment. He composed it in the very height of his perfidy and drunkenness, and dogs were allowed to tread on every letter of it. In the same spirit of pride, stubbornness, and infidelity, he met his final doom, and in a manner which I trust no one may again see, or hear of; for when the king paid him a visit on his death-bed, he barked at his face like a dog, as the king himself acknowledged in public; his whole face was swollen, and his lips appeared black, as if soiled with dentifrice, insomuch that the king observed to Abú-l-fazl, "surely the Sheikh has been rubbing dentifrice on his teeth, according to the Indian fashion." "No," replied Abú-l-fazl, "it is the stain of the clot-

ted blood which he has been spitting."* In truth, even this scene was but a small retribution for the blasphemies of which he had been guilty, and for the contumelies which he had uttered against the Prophet, the last of the apostles, (the peace of God be upon him, and all his family!). Several abusive chronograms were written on the occasion, of which the following are only a few. * * * *

He had composed poetry for forty years, correct enough in point of versification and language, but utterly destitute of beauty, either in sentiment or religion.† He has joined the dry bones together pretty well, but the skeleton has no brains. The condiments of verse are sufficiently abundant, but quite tasteless, * * * as is proved by no one remembering his lines, although the very vilest poets meet with some quoters and admirers. Nevertheless, he wrote, what with Díwáns and Masnavís, more than twenty thousand lines; and, notwithstanding that he expended the rich revenues of his jágír upon their transcription, and in sending copies to his friends, far and near, not one of them ever read his poems twice. The following verses of his own selection were given by him to Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed as a memento. * * * * * * * * Pray, tell me what beauty is there in them!

At the time that Sheikh Faizí was proceeding to take charge of his office of the deputyship of the Deccan, I wrote him two letters from the foot of the Cashmír hills, and informed him of the cause of the king's displeasure and his refusal to allow me to pay my respects. Upon this he wrote to the king a letter of recommendation, which was couched in the following words, and despatched it, on the tenth of Jamádíu-l-awwal A. H. 1000, from Ahmednagar to Lahore, and orders were given to Abú-l-fazl to place it among the records of the reign:—

"May it please your Majesty! Two friends of Mullá Abdu-l-Kádir have arrived from Badáún in great distress and sorrow, representing that the Mullá has been for some time ill, and that in consequence of his failing to perform the promise which he made respecting his return, the servants of the government have treated him with great severity, and that there is no knowing what the result of it may be. They enquired also if the prolonged illness of the Mullá was unknown to your Majesty.

"Healer of the broken-hearted! Mullá Abdu-l-Kádir is a very able man, and is well acquainted with all the sciences usually cultivated by the Mullás of Hindústán, and he was also a pupil of my

* At the close of the historical narrative, the author tells us that Faizí had been spitting blood for six months before his death, and that his barking like a dog was the consequence of his making those animals his constant companions night and day, to insult the Musulmáns, to whom they are an abomination.

† This is by no means the general estimate of his poetry, which is greatly admired in India, even to this day.

father's. Your slave has been acquainted with him for nearly thirty-seven years. Besides being a person of deep learning, he is a poet, and composes elegantly in Arabic and Persian. He is not a mere imitator, but an original thinker. He also knows a little of Hindú Astrology and accounts, and is not at a loss in any field of knowledge. He is acquainted with foreign, as well as with native, music, and can play at both the small and big games of chess; moreover, he writes a pretty good hand. Notwithstanding that he possesses all these accomplishments, he is content and entirely divested of avarice, of equable temperament, and a person of excellent morals and manners, but poor, and with no fixed income. He is sincere and warm-hearted, and has every confidence in your Majesty's kindness.

"At the time that the army was before Kúmbalmír, he volunteered to join it. There he did the state good service, and received a donation for his wounds. Jalál Khán Korchí, when he first introduced him at Court, said, 'I have brought a preacher to present to your Majesty,' at which your Majesty was gratified. Mír Fateh-ullah also represented something respecting the Mullá's circumstances, and my worthy brother, Abú-l-fazl, also knows him well. But according to the proverb, 'A grain of good luck is better than a sack full of skill.'

"As the Court is the abode of the virtuous, I have taken the liberty to bring this destitute person to notice, and to place him before the foot of the throne, as if I was myself present. Did I not advocate his claims at this time, I should consider myself guilty of an offence against the cause of truth and justice.

"May God, the omnipotent, place the slaves of the Court under the heavenly shadow of your royal Majesty! and may he mercifully make their feet firm in pursuing the path of rectitude, and justice, and in acquiring the knowledge of truth! May he preserve your Majesty as the protector and nourisher of the helpless, the bestower of mercy, the pardoner of errors, throughout the world and all worlds, and bless you with thousands upon thousands of sources of wealth, abundance, grandeur and felicity, upon earth and in heaven! I implore all this for the sake of the pure spirits who surround the throne of grace, and the saints upon earth who join in the matutinal chorus of prayer. Amen, Amen, Amen."

Should any one, upon perusing this, observe, that Sheikh Faizí's regard and affection for me, which is evidenced by this letter, is but ill requited by the harshness and severity with which I have spoken of him, especially after his death, when the precept of "speak not ill of the dead" should be strictly observed, I have only to reply, that the observation is perfectly just, but under the circumstances, I enquire, what could I do? seeing that the truth of religion and the maintenance of one's faith are paramount to all other obligations, and that the maxim I never deviate from is, that my love and hatred should be subservient to

God's cause. Although I was Sheikh Faizí's companion for forty years, nevertheless, after he apostatized from his religion, changed his manners, and entered on vain controversies, I became gradually estranged from him, and, especially after what occurred at his death, I hold myself no longer his friend. When we are all summoned before the throne of God, we shall receive sentence according to our deserts!

Sheikh Faizí left a library of four thousand six hundred volumes, some of them exquisitely copied with, what may be said to be, even unnecessary care and expense. Most of them were autographs of the respective authors, or at least copied by their contemporaries. They were all transferred to the king's library, after being catalogued and numbered in three different sections. The first included Poetry, Medicine, Astrology, and Music; the second, Philosophy, Súfyism, Astronomy, and Geometry; and the third, or lowest, grade, included Commentaries, Traditions, Theology, and Law. There were also one hundred and one different copies of his poem, "Nal-Daman."

The Táríkh-i-Badáúní is one of the commonest histories to be met with in India. One of the best copies is in the Asiatic Society's Library. Other good ones are to be found in Banda, Lakhnau, Kole, and Patna.

Seven copies concur in giving the following as the initial verses, with the exception of a variety in the first word of the second line:—

ای یافته نامها ز نام تو رواج شاهان بدرت چوما بدیشان محتاج
حالیکه رسید صدمهٔ عبرت تو نی پای بکفش ماند ونی فرق بتاج

The work concludes with a date:—

شکر لله که با تمام رسید منتخب از کرم ربانی
بسال تاریخ زدل جستم گفت انتخابی که ندارد ثانی
والحمد لله علی توفیق الاتمام و صلواة والسلام علی خیرالانام

Note G.

On the knowledge of Sanscrit by Muhammedans.

It is a common error to suppose that Faizí (v. p. 221) was the first* Muhammedan who mastered the difficulties of the Sanscrit,—that language, "of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."

Akber's freedom from religious bigotry, his ardent desire for the cultivation of knowledge, and his encouragement of every kind of learning, and especially his regard for his Hindú subjects, imparted a stimulus to the cultivation of Indian literature, such as had never prevailed under any of his predecessors. Hence, besides Faizí, we have amongst the Sanscrit translators of his reign Abdu-l-Kádir, Nakíb Khán, Mullá Sháh Muhammed, Mullá Shabrí, Sultán Hájí, Hájí Ibráhím and others.

In some instances it may admit of doubt, whether the translations may not have been made from versions previously done into Hindí, oral or written. The word Hindí is ambiguous when used by a Muhammedan of that period. Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed, for instance, says that Abdu-l-Kádir translated several works from the

* Elphinstone's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 231. *Biographical Dictionary*, L. U. K. Vol. I. p. 583.

Hindí. Now, we know that he translated, amongst other works, the Rámáyana and the Singhásan Batísí. It is much more probable that these were in the original Sanscrit, than in Hindí. Abdu-l-Kádir and Ferishta tell us that the Mahábhárata was translated into Persian from the *Hindí*, the former* ascribing the work chiefly to Nakíb Khán, the latter to Faizí. Here again there is every probability of the Sanscrit being meant. In another instance, Abdu-l-Kádir tells us that he was called upon to translate the Atharvana Veda from the *Hindí*, which he excused himself from doing, on account of the exceeding difficulty of the style and abstruseness of meaning, upon which the task devolved upon Hájí Ibráhím Sirhindí, who accomplished it satisfactorily. Here it is evident that nothing but Sanscrit could have been meant.

But though the knowledge of Sanscrit appears to have been more generally diffused at this time, it was by no means the first occasion that Muhammedans had become acquainted with that language. Even if we allow that they obtained the abridgment of the Pancha Tantra, under the name of fables of Bidpai, or Hitopadesa, through the medium of the Pehlíví,† there are other facts which make it equally certain that the Muhammedans had attained

* His account, which will be seen at p. 251, is very confused, and it is not easy to gather from it what share each of the coadjutors had in the translation. The same names are given in the Ayín-i-Akberí.

† See Mémoire prefixed to S. de Sacy's Edition of *Calilah wa Dimnah*, Paris, 1816. See also *Biographie Universelle*, Tom. XXI. p. 471.

a correct knowledge of the Sanscrit not long after the establishment of their religion; even admitting, as was probably the case, that most of the Arabic translations were made by Indian foreigners resident at Baghdád.

In the Khalifate of Al-Mámún, the Augustan age of Arabian literature, the treatise* of Muhammed bín Músa on Algebra, which was translated by Dr. Rosen in 1831, and the medical treatises of Mikah and Ibn Dahan, who are represented to be Indians,† show that Sanscrit must have been well known at that time; and even before that, the compilations of Charaka and Susruta‡ had been translated, and had diffused a general knowledge of Indian medicine amongst the Arabs. From the very first, we find them paying particular attention to this branch of science, and encouraging the profession of it so much, that two Indians, of the name Manka and Sáleh, the former of whom translated a treatise on poison into Persian, held appointments as body-physicians at the Court of Hárúnu-r-rashíd.§

The Arabians possessed during the early periods of the Khalifate several other Indian works which had been translated into Arabic, some on astronomy,‖ some on music,¶ some on

* Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 444—504.

† *Biographical Dictionary, L. U. K.* Vol. II. p. 242.

‡ Diez, *Analecta Medica*, pp. 126—140.

§ *Journal of Education*, Vol. VIII. p. 176. Royle, *Antiquity of Hindú Medicine*, p. 64. *Oriental Mag.* March, 1823. D'Herbelot, Art. *Ketab al Samoum.* Abul-faragii, *Hist. Dynast.* p. 138.

‖ Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, Vol. I. p. 426.

¶ Casiri, *ibid.* p. 427.

judicial astrology,* some on interpretation of dreams,† some on the religion and theogony of the Hindús,‡ some on their sacred scriptures,§ some on the calculation of nativities,‖ some on physiognomy,¶ and some on palmistry,* besides others, which need not be here enumerated.

If we turn our eyes towards India, we find that scarcely had these ruthless conquerors gained a footing in the land, than Bírúní exerted himself with the utmost diligence to study the language, literature and science of India, and attained, as we have already seen, such proficiency in it, as to be able to translate into, as well as from, the Sanscrit. Muhammed bin Isráíl al-Tanúkhí also travelled early into India, to learn the system of astronomy which was taught by the sages of that country.† There seems, however, no good authority for Abú-l-fazl's statement, in the Ayín-i-Akberí, that Abú Ma'shar (Albumazar) visited Benares at an earlier period;—and the visit of Ibn-al-baithár to India, four centuries afterwards, rests solely on the authority of Leo Africanus.‡

* Hottingeri *Promptuarium*, p. 254.
† Casiri, *Bibliotheca Escurialensis*, Vol, I. p. 401.
‡ Gildemeister, *de rebus Indicis Scriptt. Arabb.* pp. 104—113. De-Guignes, *Mem. de l'Academ. des Inscript.* Tom. XXVI. p. 791 et seq.
§ D'Herbelot, Artt. *Anbertkend, Ambahoumatah, Behergir.* See also *Ketab alkhafi, Ketab Roi al Hendi*, and several other articles under *Ketab.*
‖ Háji Khalfa, Vol. I. p. 282. Diez, *Analecta Medica*, p. 118.
¶ D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or.* Tom. IV. p. 725. Diez, *Analecta Medica* p. 117.
* Háji Khalfa, Vol. I. p. 263.
† Casiri, *Bibl. Escurial.* Vol. I. p. 429.
‡ Hottingeri *Bibl. quadrip.* ap. Gildemeister, *Scriptt. Arabb.* p. 80.

Again, when Fíroz Sháh, after the capture of Nagarcote, in the middle of the fourteenth century, obtained possession of a valuable Sanscrit library, he ordered a work on philosophy, divination and omens, to be translated, under the name of Daláil-i-Fírozsháhí, by Maulánà Izzu-d-dín Khálid Khání, whose historical work will be noticed under the Khiljí Dynasty;—and to have enabled the translator to do this, he must have acquired no slight knowledge of the original, before his selection for the duty.

In the Nawwáb Jalálu-d-daulah's library at Lakhnau, there is a work on astrology, also translated from the Sanscrit into Persian in Fíroz Sháh's reign.

A knowledge of Sanscrit must have prevailed pretty generally about this time, for there is in the Royal Library at Lakhnau a work on the veterinary art, which was translated from the Sanscrit by order of Ghaiásu-d-dín Muhammed Sháh Khiljí.

This rare book, called Kurrutu-l-mulk, was translated as early as A. H. 783—A. D. 1381—from an original, styled Sálotar, which is the name of an Indian, who is said to have been a Bráhmin, and the tutor of Susruta. The Preface says that the translation was made "from the barbarous Hindí into the refined Persian, in order that there may be no more need of a reference to Infidels."

It is a small work, comprising only 41 pages 8vo. of 13 lines, and the style is very concise.

It is divided into eleven Chapters, and thirty Sections.

Chapter I.	On the breeds and names of horses,	4	Sections.
II.	On their odour, on riding, and breeding,	4	"
III.	On stable management, and on wasps building nests in a stable,	2	"
IV.	On colour and its varieties,	2	"
V.	On their blemishes,	3	"
VI.	On their limbs,	2	"
VII.	On sickness and its remedies,	4	"
VIII.	On bleeding,	4	"
IX.	On food and diet,	2	"
X.	On feeding for the purpose of fattening,	3	"
XI.	On ascertaining the age by the teeth,	0	"

The precise age of this work is doubtful, because, although it is plainly stated to have been translated in A. H. 783, yet the reigning prince is called Sultán Ghaiásu-d-dín Muhammed Sháh, son of Mahmúd Sháh, and there is no king so named, whose reign corresponds with that date. If Sultán Ghaiásu-d-dín Toghlak be meant, it should date 60 years earlier, and if the king of Málwa, who bore that name, be meant, it should be dated 100 years later;—either way, it very much precedes the reign of Akber.*

The translator makes no mention in it of the work on the same subject, which had been previously translated from the Sanscrit into Arabic at Baghdád, under the name of Kitábu-l-Baitarat.

* It is curious, that without any allusion to this work, another on the veterinary art, styled Sálotarí, and said to comprise in the Sanscrit original 16,000 slokas, was translated in the reign of Sháhjehán, "when there were many learned men who knew Sanscrit," by Sayyid Abdullah Khán Bahádar Fíroz Jang, who had found it amongst some other Sanscrit books, which during his expedition against Mewár, in the reign of Jehángír, had been plundered from Amar Sing, Ráná of Chitor, and "one of the chief Zemíndárs of the hill-country." It is divided into twelve Chapters, and is more than double the size of the other.

From all these instances it is evident that Faizí did not occupy the entirely new field of literature for which he usually obtains credit.

The same error seems to have pervaded the history of European scholarship in Sanscrit. We read as early as A. D. 1677 of Mr. Marshall's being a proficient in the language, and without mentioning the dubious names of Anquetil du Perron* and Father Paolino,† others could perhaps be named, who preceded in this arduous path the celebrated scholars of the present period.

In such an enquiry as this also must not be omitted the still more important evidence afforded by the Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh, from which we have a most interesting extract in M. Reinaud's "Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde." This extract was translated in A. H. 520—A. D. 1126,—by Abú-l-Hasan Alí bin Muhammed, from the Arabic of Abú Sáleh bin Sh'íb bin Jáma', who had himself abridged it a

* See *Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. I. p. 412. *Edinb. Rev.* Vol. I. p. 75, and Heeren's *Historical Researches*, Vol. II. p. 129.

† Bohlen speaks of his *Grammatica Samscredamica*, Rom. 1790, as "full of the grossest blunders;" Sir William Jones designates him as "homo trium litterarum," and Leyden is even less complimentary in his strictures:—"The publication of his *Vyacarana*, Rom. 1804, has given a death-blow to his vaunted pretensions to profound oriental learning, and shown, as was previously suspected, that he was incapable of accurately distinguishing Sanscrit from the vernacular languages of India. Equally superficial, inaccurate, and virulent in his invective, a critic of his own stamp would be tempted to retort on him his own quotation from Ennius:—

Simia quam similis turpissima bestia vobis."

See *Das alte Indien*, Vol. II. p. 471. *As. Res.* Vol. X. p. 278. *Journ. Asiatique*, Tom. II. p. 216. Heeren, *Histor. Res.* Vol. II. p. 108. M. Abel-Rémusat *Nouv. Mél. Asiat.* Tom. II. pp. 305—315. *Quart. Or. Mag.* Vol. IV. p. 158.

hundred years before from a Sanscrit (Hindwání) work, which the Arabic author entitles *Ababu-l-Mulúk*, or "Instruction of Kings." The translator was librarian of Jurján near the Caspian sea, and the copy of the Arabic translation which he examined was in the hand-writing of Abú Sáleh himself. The original Sanscrit is described as being chiefly, like the Kalíla wa Damna, in the form of dialogue, in which quadrupeds and birds are the interlocutors. The Persian translation is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style, and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own compositon, in the portions which are original.

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanscrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the Rája Taranginí, and probably to the Mahábhárata; and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade. If so, it would go far to show that the Mahábhárata is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the Iliad, a collection of older poems already current; for there are many passages in the Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the Mahábhárata. Indeed, it might be said, that the Mahábhárata was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers.

The learned Editor also thinks he has dis-

covered in this extract indications of the Bráhminical influence being established over the Kshatryas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pándava and Kurava. The inference however rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, "God only knows the truth!"

At any rate, we have here another instance of Sanscrit having been translated before the eleventh century.

The Manuscript is numbered 62 in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and has been described in the Journal Asiatique at different times by M. Quatrèmere and M. Jules Mohl.

The Persian translator* says that his father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmecides from their origin to their extinction. He was a traveller, for he informs us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A. H. 520—A. D. 1126,—during the reign of Sinjar, son of Malik Sháh, Sultán of the Saljúkís, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A. H. 589.

* It is not easy to ascertain his real name. M. Reinaud gives it as Abú-l-Hasan Alí bin Muhammed. M. Quatrèmere and M. Mohl say his name is utterly unknown, and give his pedigree as grandson of Muhalleb bin Muhammed bin Sháduí.

His work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Hijrí. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his reseaches is the history of Persia, on which subject he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on Geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabarí, the Sháhnáma, Garshaspnáma, Ferámuznáma, Bahmannáma, Kúsh-píl-dandán, Abú-l-múayyid Balkhí, Hamza Isfahání, and some others. He says, that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses; that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse; that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

"The transactions of the kings of Persia," he continues, "are the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zanj, Arabia, Greece,

and Turkistán are not to be compared to I'rán, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries."

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M. M. Saint Martin and J. Mohl to publish the Mujmal with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five Chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rúm, Arabs, Sámánides, Búyides, Ghaznevides, Saljúkians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindú kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammed, and the Khalifs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammedan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios.*

* See *Journal Asiatique*, trois. sér. Tom. VII. pp. 246—285. Tom. XI. pp. 136—178, 258—301, 320—361. *Le Livre des Rois*, Tom. I. pp. i—lx. Anquetil du Perron, *Zendavesta*, Tom. II. pp. 352, et seq.

EXTRACTS.

History of the Jats and Meds.

As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it.

The Jats and Meds are, it is said, descendants of Ham. They inhabited Sind and the banks of the river Bah. By the Arabs the Hindús are called Jats.* The Jats kept large herds of goats. The Meds† used to invade the territories of the Jats and

* Respecting the Jats of Sind, Masson observes:—

"The Jets constitute the great bulk of the fixed agricultural population of Kach Gandava, as of the Punjab and Sindetic provinces; to say nothing of the countries between the Sutlej and Ganges. A race so widely dispersed, of course, claims attention. Wherever located it is distinguished by speaking nearly the same dialect, and the name designating it carries us back to the Getic or Gothic invaders of India and of Europe. To the north and west of Kach Gandava they are not found as agriculturalists, but rather as itinerant professors of humble arts, somewhat like gypsies. Under such conditions they may be discovered at Kâbal, Kandahâr, and even at Herât, at which latter place they are called, perhaps with reference to their occupations, Gharib Zâda, or descendants of the poor or lowly. But wherever they go they preserve their vernacular tongue, the Jetkí. In the Punjab I believe, they do not occur westward of the Jélam, which is instructive, as showing, if they represent the ancient Getic races, how they have been pushed forward by subsequent invaders. There can be no doubt but that the Getæ once possessed the whole of the countries immediately east and west of the Indus. With the Jet population, east of the Jélam, waggons, to the traveller from the west, first make their appearance.

"The language of the Jet races deserves notice, especially with reference to the important question, what is Hindí? Materials for the comparison of its various dialects exist in their several Vocabularies, and the labour of reviewing them could not be unprofitable. The settlement of the Jets in Kach Gandava has been at so remote a period, that they now appear as the Aborigines. Their subdivisions are numerous. The names of some of them are the Kalora, which formerly gave princes to Sind, Kokar, Hampí, Túnia, Abbrah, Púsarár, Máchí, Howra, Manjú, Waddara, Palál, Buah, &c." *Journey to Kelat*, pp. 351—3. See also *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Vol. III. p. 209.

† It is said that there is a tribe called Mez, on the lower Indus, if so, that may be the proper reading of the text, by adding a diacritical point. They are doubtless the same as the Mand mentioned at p. 64, respecting whom Ibn Haukal observes:—"The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Bodha and Mand." If Med should be the correct reading of this latter passage (and a transposition of points is all that is required to make it so) we might be encouraged from the juxtaposition of the two names, to look upon them as descendants of the ancient Medes, for Herodotus observes that the Medes were divided into six clans, of which one was the Búdii. (*Clio*, c. vii.)

put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they easily crossed and made a successful attack on the Meds, killed many of them, took several prisoners, and plundered their country.

One of the Jat chiefs, seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced, made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant; that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harrassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajúshan, (Daryodhana) son of Dahrát, (Dhritaráshtra) and beg of him to appoint a king over them who might govern them, and that good might result from it. After some discussion, his proposition was adopted, and the emperor Dajúshan nominated his sister Dassal, wife of king Jandrat, a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work.

There was no Bráhmin or wise man in the country who had attained to such a degree of wisdom as the queen. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 Bráhmins from all Hindústán, and sent them, with their families and adherents, to his sister.

There are several discussions and conversations about these Bráhmins in the original work.

From this time Sind became populous.

The original work gives a description of the provinces, the rivers and wonders of the country, and mentions the foundation of cities.

The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland.* A small portion of the country was made over to the Jats, and one of them was elected as their chief; his name was Júdrat.

Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds.

This government continued for twenty wands of years, after which the Bhárats lost possession of the country.

* * * * * *

History of the kingdom of Cashmír and Hál.

It is said that Hál was the descendant of Sanjwárah, son of Jandrat, and of the daughter of Dahrát. Having inherited in Hindústán the territories which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal, who were members of a powerful clan, (?) his autho-

* This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others, which, as it is called by Biládorí Askalandúsah, is not improbably the Alexandria Oxydrace of the Greeks.

rity was very great. He built several cities and places of note. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there. The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron.

It happened that the wife of the king of Cashmír bought some of the cloth bearing the stamp of Hál,* and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it. His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hál's foot. On hearing this the king of Cashmír swore he would go and cut off the leg of king Hál. His Wazír observed, that there were "great many Bráhmins in that country who would oppose him, and that he would not be successful." The king of Cashmír did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army. When Hál heard of the king of Cashmír's intentions, he was much alarmed; he sent information to the Bráhmins and told them of the king of Cashmír's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way. The Bráhmins offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle field. Hál did so, and as soon as the king of Cashmír's force, that marched in advance under their commander-in-chief, had come near the elephant, the elephant burst, and the flames it threw out destroyed a great part of the invading force.

The king of Cashmír was then compelled to sue for peace, at the conclusion of which, Hál sent many presents to him; and the king in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by water. He was advised not to proceed by water on account of the depth and strong current of the river. In compliance with this advice he disembarked. At every day's journey the river fell, till its breadth was diminished by several parasangs. In that country he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindí is called Sávandar (Samudr). Hence the chief town was called Sávandí, and it exists to this day. He also built several temples and superb cities. Soon after, he was informed of the approach of an enemy, which obliged him to return to his country, whence he expelled the invaders. The government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindús were obedient to them.

* This is the same legend as that of Mihirakula in the Rája Taringiní, (II. 32;) and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. One will be found above, at p. 104. See also Sprenger's *El-Mas'údí*, p. 318.

XXIV.

تاريخ حقي

TARÍKH-I-HAKKÍ.

This work contains a brief general history of Muhammedan India, from the time of the slave-kings of Dehli to that of Akber, in the forty-second year of whose reign it was composed, i. e. A. H. 1005—A. D. 1596—7. The name of the author is Sheikh Abdu-l-Hakk bin Saifu-d-dín of Dehli. From a quatrain in the preface of his history, it would appear that Hakkí, "the true," while it contains a play upon his own name, is a mere literary appellation, assumed according to a practice common in the east, and by which name he seems to wish that his history should be known, though it is most frequently styled Táríkh-i-Abdu-l-Hakk.

Abdu-l-Hakk was a descendant of one of Timúr's followers, who remained behind, it is said, together with some other foreign chiefs, at Dehli, after the return of that conqueror to his native land. The Sheikh early applied himself to the cultivation of knowledge, and at twenty years of age had mastered most

of the customary branches of education, and learnt the whole of the Kurán by heart.* At the time he was prosecuting his studies, the author† tells us that he used to go twice a day to college, morning and evening, during the heat of one season and the cold of another, returning for a short time for a meal to his own house. As he informs us that his dwelling was two miles from the college, this statement, if true, shows that he travelled eight miles a day, which, it must be confessed, exhibited unusual ardour in the acquisition of knowledge. His father observed that he did not enjoy pastimes like other boys, and endeavoured to dissuade him from his intense application.

Upon leaving Dehli, he associated for a long time with Abdu-l-Kádir, Sheikh Faizí and Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed at Fatehpúr,‡ but left them upon some slight misunderstanding. Nevertheless, through the interest of the latter, he obtained a passage on a vessel proceeding to Arabia, whither he went on a pilgrimage. He dwelt for a long time in the holy cities of Mecca and Medína, and derived much instruction from the learned men of those cities. He wrote works upon many subjects—commentaries, travels, Súfí doctrines, religion and history, and his different treatises amount altogether to more than one hundred. The best known are the Medína Sakína, the Madáriju-n-

* *Bádsháh-náma* of Abdu-l-Hamíd Lahorí, (MS. fol. 451 v.)
† *Akhbáru-l-Akhyár*, (MS. fol. 354 v.)
‡ *Táríkh-i-Badáúní* of Abdu-l-Kádir, (MS. fol. 228 r.)

Nubúwat, the Jazbu-l-Kulúb,* and the Akhbáru-l-Akhyár. In the year 1047 H. although he was then ninety years old, he is said† to have been in full possession of his faculties, and to have employed himself in religious duties, in instruction, and composition, as vigorously as if he had been still a young man.

The author, who now holds a high rank among the saints of Hindústán, informs us that his desire to write history arose from a perusal of the Táríkh-i-Fíroz-sháhí, by which he alludes to that of Ziyáu-d-dín Barní, as he mentions that the lives of several kings are contained in it, which is not the case with the other histories of that name. But as that work concludes with the beginning of Fíroz Sháh's reign, he sought to obtain information respecting the kings who succeeded him, and lighted upon the Táríkh-i-Bahádar-sháhí, written by Sám Súltán Bahádar Gujrátí, from which he has extracted down to the reign of Behlole Lodí. He then thought it would be advisable to complete the reigns previous to those noticed in the Táríkh-i-Fíroz-sháhí, and therefore abstracted from the Tabakát-i-Násirí the reigns from Mu'izzú-d-dín Sám (Muhammed Ghorí) to Násiru-d-dín Mahmúd bin Sultán Shamsu-d-dín. He has been judicious in his small selection, as these three are the best authorities for their respective periods. From Behlole Lodí to his own time he has

* This is a history of Medína, which was commenced in that city in A. H. 998, and has lately been very well printed in Calcutta.

† *Bádsháh-náma*, ut supra.

depended on verbal information, and upon what came under his own observation, all the rest of his work being taken, as he candidly confesses, verbatim from the three authors above quoted.

After carrying, in the first chapter, the general history of Dehli down to Akber's time, he gives, in the second, a compendious account of the rulers of Bengál, Jaunpúr, Mándú, Deccan, Multán, Sind and Cashmír, but the narrative is much too brief to be of any use.

EXTRACT.

Shortly after ascending the throne, Fíroz Sháh was murdered by his maternal uncle Mubáriz Khán. Selím Sháh had anticipated this, and had therefore asked his wife's consent to kill her brother, saying that if she did not accede to his proposal, she would not long see her son alive. The senseless woman, not thinking her brother capable of such an act, would not give her consent, and accordingly Fíroz Sháh was soon after murdered, as Selím Sháh had predicted. Fíroz Sháh reigned not more than three days and 5 hours. After his murder, all his Afghán relations claimed the throne. One assumed the title of Sekander, another of Sultán Ibráhím, and a third of Sultán Muhammed Ádil. The rivals contested the point amongst themselves most pertinaciously for three or four years, when at length, in the month of Shawwál in the year 963, the Humái of Humáiyún again spread the wings of its prosperity and good luck upon the kingdom of Hindústán. The dust of distress which had obscured the beautiful face of the kingdom was washed away by the water of peace and union, and the heart of the country was invigorated by a new infusion of life. Joy and gladness, gratitude and boundless hope were diffused among all people, both high and low, rich and poor.

Within six months of his second reign, Humáiyún, while standing one evening enjoying the fresh air on the top of the red palace in the Fort of Dehli, heard the "Azán" called, and sitting down out of respect to the summons to evening prayer, his foot slipped by accident, and he fell to the ground. He died on the spot, or at least a few days afterwards, and the bird of his victorious soul fled to the nest of Paradise. From God we proceed, to God shall we return!

He was succeeded by his son Sultán Abú-l-fateh Jalálu-d-dín Muhammed Akber Bádsháh Ghází, of super-eminent dignity, &c.

&c. He ascended the throne in his youth, and though more than forty years have elapsed since his reign began, he is still in the very bloom of his dominion, and in the commencement of his power, for every day brings accounts of new victories and new conquests, so that by the blessing of God his kingdom extends over the whole of Hindústán, (which is called "Chahárdang," that is a quarter of the world,) including all its forts and territories, without any one being associated with him in power, and without any one daring to offer opposition. This country is bounded on three sides by the sea, and all the kings and their descendants, chiefs, nobles and Rájás, and all people, of every degree throughout the whole country, pay allegiance to him, willingly acknowledge him as their sovereign, and place the head of abject submission on the ground in his presence. Territories, treasures, elephants, horses, armies and all other things, suitable to the state and dignity of Emperors, came into his possession in such abundance, that they are beyond all calculation, and are of a value far exceeding any thing which has ever yet been in the possession of other Emperors.

"This monarch, at the very commencement of his reign, effected that which kings who have reigned many years have not been able to accomplish; God can place the whole world in the hands of one person!"

The kings and Sultáns, who have been spoken of in this book, are not worthy of those titles in the presence of the exalted majesty of Akber, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two individuals; but to call even them kings, in comparison, requires no small degree of courage and resolution.

In short, it is difficult to describe the victories of the Emperor Akber, and the mode in which he captured countries, his regulations, his principles of government, his extraordinary orders, his courteous and engaging manners, and the many innovations which he introduced. Entire volumes and registers would be requisite for such a purpose. If I be blessed with a long life, and if I receive the aid of God, I shall attempt to the utmost of my power to write the history of the Emperor. May it be the will of God that, through the aid of this omnipotent Emperor of Emperors, the Muhammedan law and religion may be established for ever and ever! O God of the worlds, accept this prayer!"

SIZE.—Small 8vo. containing 142 pages of 18 lines each.

As this time-serving saint was prepared to speak of his reforming patron in such a prepos-

terous strain of adulation, we have little reason to regret that he never fulfilled the purpose of writing an account of his reign.

The best copy of this little history, which I have seen, belongs to Nawwáb Násiru-d-dín Ahmed of Pánípat, in whose collection it is improperly called Táríkh-i-Salátín Ghorí. Nizámu-d-dín, a physician resident at Banda, also possesses a good copy.

In a Manuscript belonging to a native gentleman at Dehli, the first chapter closes with these words, "thus ends the first chapter of the Tazkiratu-s-Salátín," which would imply that this work is known by that name; but, if so, it cannot be the work generally known as the Tazkiratu-s-Salátín, for that is devoted to an account of the Hindú dynasties, and upon that compilation Colonel Wilford, in his essay on Vicramáditya and Sáliváhana, makes the following just observations:—

"This treatise is a most perfect specimen of the manner of writing history in India; for, excepting the above list, almost every thing else is the production of the fertile genius of the compiler. In all these lists the compilers and revisers seem to have had no other object in view, but to adjust a certain number of remarkable epochs. This being once effected, the intermediate spaces are filled up with names of kings not to be found any where else, and most probably fanciful. Otherwise they leave out the names of those kings of whom nothing is recorded, and attribute the years of their

reign to some among them better known, and of greater fame. They often do not scruple to transpose some of those kings, and even whole dynasties; either in consequence of some preconceived opinion, or owing to their mistaking a famous king for another of the same name. It was not uncommon with ancient writers, to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant; or from a remote predecessor to a remote successor, by leaving out the intermediate generations or successions, and sometimes ascribing the years of their reigns to a remote successor or predecessor. In this manner the lists of the ancient kings of Persia, both by oriental writers, and others in the west, have been compiled: and some instances of this nature might be produced from Scripture. I was acquainted lately, at Benares, with a chronicler of that sort, and in the several conversations I had with him, he candidly acknowledged, that he filled up the intermediate spaces between the reigns of famous kings, with names at a venture; that he shortened or lengthened their reigns at pleasure; and that it was understood, that his predecessors had taken the same liberties. Through their emendations and corrections, you see plainly a total want of historical knowledge and criticism; and sometimes some disingenuity is but too obvious. This is, however, the case with the sections on futurity in the Bhagavat, Vayu, Vishnu, and Brahmanda Puranas; which with the above lists constitute the whole stock of historical knowledge among

the Hindús; and the whole might be comprised in a few quarto pages of print."*

The Táríkh-i-Hakkí opens with a passage from the Kurán.

اللهم مالک الملک توتي الملک من تشاء و تنزع الملک ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء و تذل من تشاء بيدك الخير انک علی کل شیء قدیر منطوق آیه کریمه شامل است مر تمامه ملکهارا که مالک الملک المطلق علی الاطلاق جل جلاله وعم نواله مربندگان خود را عموما و خصوصا عطا فرموده

The conclusion varies. Three copies end with محروسه شد, which precedes the passage given below. A fourth copy ends with پذیرفت. The most perfect closes with a chronogram, which if written by the author, would seem to show that he wished his work to be styled Zikr-i-Mulúk. The preface, as before observed, authorizes the name of Táríkh-i-Hakkí.

تم الکتاب وعم الخطاب والحمد لله الکریم الوهاب علي کل حال ولی کل ماب عرض میدارد جامع این رساله و ناقل این مقاله عبدالحق حقي اسعدالله الي مدارج الکمال و الترقي که درین تذکره ذکر بادشاهان دکن تا سنه سبع ثلثین و تسعمائة اتفاق افتاده چون علم باحوال جماع که بعد ازین سال تا سال کتاب اینحروف که هزار وپنج است حاضرالوقت نه بود در قید کتابت نه درآمد بهمین علت در تفصیل احوال اسامي بادشاهان سند و کشمیر اهمال و تقصیر امد و نقصان پذیرفت خبر این نقصان و اتمام این کلام برذمه عنایت کرام واجب و لازم باد

از ذکر ملوك رفت تقریب سخن امد سخن نغز ولي بی سروبن
ناقص چو فتاد سال تاریخش را ازذکر ملوك یازده ناقص کن

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. pp. 132, 133.

XXV.

زبدة التواريخ

ZUBDATU-Ṭ-ṬAWÁRÍKH.

This is a general history, composed by Sheikh Núru-l-Hakk, al-Mashrakí, al-Dehlivi, al-Bokhárí, the son of Abdu-l-Hakk, noticed in the preceding article. The addition of al-Mashrakí would imply that his family had changed their abode from Dehli to some district of Jaunpúr.

Núru-l-Hakk's work is an enlarged edition of his father's history, and was composed, as the author informs us, in order that by improving the style, and supplying omissions, he might render it worthy the acceptance of his patron, Sheikh Farídu-d-dín Bokhárí, with whom he was connected by marriage, and who suggested the undertaking. It is for this reason that a large space is devoted to an account of Sheikh Farídu-d-dín's expeditions during the time of Akber, and an interesting detail is given of his proceedings in Cashmír, the Khyber hills, Jammú, Jasrauta, Rámgarh, and other places in the Sewálik hills. The same officer was subsequently appointed to the pursuit of Khusrú in the early part of Jehángír's reign, in which expedition he acquired credit for considerable

gallantry, and under the title of Murtaza Khán, managed for some time the affairs of the empire.

The work commences with the reign of Kutb-u-d-dín, and ends with the close of Akber's reign, which is copiously abstracted from the Akbernáma, and comprises one half of the entire history of the Dehli emperors. This is by far the most valuable part of the work, for besides what he copies from Abú-l-fazl, the author writes much from his own knowledge of contemporary events. A hope is held out that the author may be able to continue the work, and detail some of the events of Jehángír's reign, of whom he was a contemporary.

CONTENTS.

History of the kings of Dehli, from p. 13 to 369.
History of the kings of Málwa, from p. 369 to 418.
History of the kings of Guzerat, from p. 418 to 458.
History of the kings of the Deccan, from p. 458 to 482.
History of the kings of Cashmír, from p. 482 to 506.
History of the kings of Sind and Thatta, from p. 507 to 514.
History of the kings of Multán, from p. 514 to 516.
History of the kings of Bengal, from p. 517 to 532.
History of the kings of Jaunpúr, from p. 532 to 542.

SIZE—Large 8vo. comprising 542 pages, of 16 lines to a page.

By Muhammed Háshim, the author of the Muntakhabu-l-lubáb, this history is styled the Táríkh-i-zubda. The name of Zubdatu-t-tawáríkh is very common, and besides the history of this name, which will be noticed in another part of this work, there are two which have a classical reputation both in the east and west; one by Háfiz Abrú, noticed above, (Art: IV.) the other by Jamálu-d-dín Abú-l-kásim Káshí.

There is one also of a later date by Kamál Khán bin Jalál Munajjim. It is a general history, but chiefly devoted to Persia, the history of which it brings down to the close of the sixteenth century.

EXTRACTS.

Sultána Razía.

Sultána Razía was the daughter of Sultán Shamsu-ddín, and was a wise, just, merciful, affable, beneficent, and fortunate sovereign, possessing all the best qualifications which become a ruler, except that she was not endowed with the form of a man. She was appointed regent in the time of her father, and conducted herself with remarkable propriety. Her mother was the chief begum of the haram, and the daughter therefore was bred up with princely notions becoming her station.

It is said that Sultán Shamsu-d-dín nominated her as his successor towards the close of his reign, and upon some of his relations observing that it was not proper in him to select a daughter, when he had sons living, he replied, "my sons are immersed in youthful pleasures, and are by no means qualified to govern a kingdom, as you will yourselves observe when I am no more."

When Sultána Razía ascended the throne, all business was again regulated according to the system established by her father, and which had been suspended during the late short reign; but some of the ministers and chiefs raised the standard of rebellion against her, and it was only after much resistance, contention, and slaughter, that her authority was confirmed. She bestowed honors and lands upon her nobles, led her own troops to battle, and achieved victories at their head. After a short time, she discarded her female apparel and veil, wore a tunic and cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on an elephant without any attempt at concealment.

One of the most remarkable incidents which occurred at the beginning of her reign, was that, at the instigation of a person called Núr Turk, several Carmathians, and heretics of Hindústán assembled at Dehli from various quarters of Hind, Gujrát, Sind, the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, and the environs of the capital, and entering into a bond of fidelity to one another, declared open hostility against Islám. Wherever this Núr Turk preached, the vagabonds used to collect, and call the Sunnís fools and idiots, inflaming the minds of the common people against the wise men who followed the doctrines of Abú Hanífa and Sháfa'í. This insolence reached to such a pitch, that on Friday, the 6th

of Rajab A. H. 634, about a thousand of these Carmathians, armed with swords and shields, came in two bodies to the mosque, and attacked the Muhammedans. Many were slain by the sword, and many were trampled to death by the crowd. Upon hearing the clamour, the royal troops seized their arms, and accompanied by several citizens, rushed towards the scene of the encounter, and making an attack upon the heretics and Carmathians, despatched them all to hell, and thus at last the tumult was allayed.*

* * * * * *

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín Kaikobád.

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín was seventeen years old when he ascended the throne. He was of a mild disposition, and courteous in his demeanour. It is said that Sultán Balban made his sons over to the care of tutors, and would not allow them any pleasure or recreation. If any one of them was not present at the stated times of prayer, the Sultán would not speak to him for a whole week, or even a whole month, and would conduct himself toward the offender with great sternness and severity.

Mu'izzu-d-dín, after he became king, opened for himself the door of pleasure, and indulged in all kinds of debauchery, frivolity, and drunkenness. He built a new city and palace within the area of Kílúkherí, on the banks of the Jumna, and collected there, from the countries round Dehli, a band of buffoons, jesters, players and singers, and surrounded himself with beauty and pleasure. All the people, on the principle of "like master, like

* This curious anecdote is omitted by almost all the general historians. It is here given by Núru-l-Hakk nearly verbatim from the Tabakát-i-Násirí.

The Carmathians were the followers of a famous impostor, named Carmath, who in A. H. 278 was the author of a sect which subverted all the principles of Muhammedanism. He was a person of great austerity, and asserted that God had commanded him to pray fifty times a day; whereas Muhammedans enjoin only five prayers a day. His followers allegorized all the precepts of Muhammedan law. The sect multiplied greatly in Arabian Irák, and maintained during the period of their existence constant wars against the Khalifs. In A. H. 319, they took the city of Mecca, filled the holy well with dead bodies, defiled and plundered the temple, and carried away the black stone, and did not restore it till A. H. 339, pretending that they were ordered to do so by express revelation from heaven.

The sect appears to have maintained itself for a longer period in India than elsewhere. Mahmúd, the Ghaznevide, expelled them from the occupation of Multán, and here we find them in force at Dehli in the beginning of the thirteenth century. See *Dictionary of Religious Ceremonies*, v. Caramethah; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Or.* v. Carmath; Reinaud, *Fragments*, p. 142.

man," imitated his bad example, and gave themselves up to rioting and debauchery. Even the very mosques and other places of worship were defiled, and the idol temples and taverns were the scenes of riot and voluptuousness. There was no kind of administration or government; high and low, rich and poor, had no work to perform, except to drink and be jolly, get up jovial parties, sing, gamble, squander money, recite poetry, search out for new means of gratification, and pass night and day in reckless pursuit of the grossest sensuality and vice. * * * * * * *

Soon after he had determined, at the instigation of his father, on murdering the minister Malik Nizámu-d-dín, some of his nobles, when he was intoxicated in his private apartments, obtained his permission to accomplish that purpose, and poisoned the minister by mixing a deadly potion in his wine. Upon his death, the little order and system which prevailed in the government was completely subverted, for he was an experienced and intelligent statesman, and patronized learned men.

A short time after this, Mu'izzu-d-dín became perfectly disabled by paralysis, brought on by drunkenness and venery, and day by day his pain became more excruciating, as he lay at death's door in the very palace which had been the scene of his revels.

Meanwhile, Sultán Jalálu-d-dín, who held the post of 'Áriz, encamped at Hápúr with a body of adherents, consisting of Khiljís and relations, for the avowed purpose of raising an army round his standard; and seeing that Mu'izzu-d-din lay bed-ridden and incapable of exertion, he determined to seize the throne of Dehli for himself; upon this, the Turcománs brought forth the king's son, though he was but a child, from the female apartments, and seated him on the throne in the fort of Dehli, under the name of Sultán Shamsu-d-dín. They also administered medicines to Mu'izzu-d-dín in the palace of Kílúkherí. Sultán Jalálu-d-dín, with a select body of brave and determined followers, entered the royal audience-chamber, and taking the boy from the throne, sent him to his father, Mu'izzu-d-dín, and slew many of the chiefs who adhered to his cause.

Two days after this, a nobleman, whose father had been killed by the king, was sent into the palace to murder him. As his life was nearly extinct, a few kicks were sufficient to despatch him, and he was rolled up in a bed-sheet and thrown into the Jumna. Jalálu-d-dín then seated himself on the throne in Kílúkherí, but fearing the townspeople, and the nobles of Mu'izzu-d-dín's Court, to whom the Khiljís were very obnoxious, he came forth from Kílúkherí, and according to the usual custom, ascended the throne in the old palace in the city. From that day the kingdom departed from the Turks, and came under the dominion of the Khiljís.

* * * * * *

Sultán Aláu-d-dín.

* * * * * *

The Sultán came to Dehli, and encamped on the plain of Sabzí, and at the close of the year 695 H. entered the city, made the red palace the imperial residence, and distributed largesses. The people gave themselves up to pleasure, and rejoiced at acquiring unexpected wealth, while by these means Aláu-d-dín firmly secured himself in possession of the throne.

The wife of Sultán Jalálu-d-dín fled to her son at Multán, and Aláu-d-dín, considering that the destruction of the family of Jalálu-d-dín was essentially necessary for his own security, sent 40,000 horsemen to Multán, who invested the fort, and confined them within its walls. The sons were soon taken captive,* and sent to Dehli, when they were first deprived of their eyes, then imprisoned, and finally murdered, and all their effects were confiscated.

In the year 698 H., the Moghuls created great consternation, and the army of Multán being sent against them, put them to flight. Soon after, the Sultán caused all the nobles who had deserted Jalálu-d-dín to be murdered, and demolished even their houses; but two or three escaped who had adhered to the cause of Jalálu-d-dín's sons, and had evinced some show of gratitude. These men were promoted and received into favor, while all the rest were exterminated, root and branch.

After this, he despatched his army on an expedition to Gujrát, and devastated the whole of that province. The Ráí of Gujrát, who was then at Nehrwála, fled to Deogír, while his wives, daughters, treasures, and elephants fell into the hands of the Muhammedans; and the idol of Súmnáth, which the Hindús had again set up after the departure of Sultán Mahmúd, was broken, and its fragments sent to Dehli. His generals plundered the superintendents of the fire temples of money, jewels, and every article that was precious, and even exacted from the men in their own camp all the gold, silver, and jewels, which they had acquired as booty, after putting them to various kinds of torture. The consequence was, that they were driven to desperation, and rebelled. The Sultán, who had remained at Dehli, seizing their wives and children, with the cruelty which was natural to him, threw them into prison, and Nusrat Khán, one of his officers, gave their women over to the Kaiánians for pollution, and dashing the little children upon the heads of their own mothers, thus barbarously put them to death. From that time commenced the practice at Dehli of making innocent wives and children suffer for the mis-

* Other authors tell us, that after the city had been invested for two months, it surrendered, on the condition that the lives of the princes should be spared,—Alaf Khán, the king's brother, guaranteeing their security.

deeds of their husbands and parents:—for this barbarous mode of punishment did not prevail before this period.

During this year he sent an army against Sewestán, and after conquering the country, the women and children were chained by the neck and feet, and transported to Dehli.

At the close of the same year, Kutlugh Khwájah made an inroad into Hindústán with several thousand Moghuls from Mawaráu-n-nahr. They marched towards Dehli, creating great alarm and intercepting all communication. The Sultán left the city and encamped at Sabzí.

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It is reported that one day when Kází Mughísu-d-dín was sent for, he represented that he knew his end was approaching, "Because," said he, "I must declare what is written in our books, and that may not be palatable to the king." The king said, "Speak the truth and fear not." He then enquired, "From what Hindú is it proper to demand taxes according to the law relating to Zimmís." He replied, "From him who pays the revenue collector with full acquiescence and unhesitating readiness, for, as it is perfectly lawful to slay an infidel, the capitation-tax has been imposed instead of death." The Sultán smiled and said, "You speak according to the written law, but you see my zeal for religion has already induced me without any instruction to treat Hindús in the manner you mention." The Sultán again enquired, "If the public servants are guilty of peculation and embezzlement, is it lawful to treat them as common thieves." The Kází replied, "Provided the servants receive sufficient salaries from the public treasury, if they take more in the way of peculation and embezzlement, they may be treated with the very extreme of severity and torture; but it is not lawful to mutilate them, as that punishment is reserved only for the most heinous offences." The Sultán said, "That is precisely what I do. I confiscate all their property of every kind and degree, and throw it into the public treasury. I have thus checked their malpractices and perfidy, and shortened the hands of these avaricious people, so that they should not commit frauds upon my exchequer."

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At the dead of night they brought the remains of Aláu-d-dín out of the palace of Sírí, and buried them in the tomb which he had constructed in his lifetime, near the Manihár musjid. After his death, Malik Sábít, called the Káfir, set up as king, for three short months, Shabába-d-dín, youngest son of Aláu-d-dín, though he was only five or six years old, and constituted himself as minister. He blinded the two elder brothers of the young prince, and imprisoned all the ladies of the royal household, till at last some of the slaves of Aláu-d-dín, who were in possession of the palace of Hazár-Sitún, murdered him, and relieved the world of his atrocities.

Sultán Kutbu-d-dín Mubárak Sháh.

He was son of Sultán Aláu-d-din, and was seventeen years old when he began to reign. He sent Shahábu-d-din to Gwáliár, and dreading the haughtiness and presumption of the men who had assassinated Malik Sábit, he dispersed them in various directions, putting to death those who professed themselves the leaders, and who assumed too independent a tone for his security; he then gave himself up to pleasure, rioting and debauchery. On the very first day of his accession he released all the culprits imprisoned by his predecessor, amounting to seventeen or eighteen thousand men, and distributed a donation of six months' pay to the whole army. He increased the stipends of the nobles, as well as the pensions and allowances of the learned, and restored to their former possessors many of the villages and lands which had been resumed during the reign of Aláu-d-dín. He ordered also that all the petitions, which had been thrown aside during the preceding reign, should be brought forward, that all grievances should be redressed, and that the people should be relieved of the heavy contributions, fines, and imprisonments, to which they had been subject. In short, he annulled all the rules and regulations of Aláu-d-dín, and the people felt free and happy when relieved of their intolerable oppression and severity. Wealth again began to flow into their purses, and pleasure, revelry, and wine were the order of the day. As a natural consequence, immorality and disregard of religion began to prevail, and although almost the only regulation of Aláu-d-dín which the Sultán maintained, was the prohibition against the drinking of wine, yet as he himself was absorbed in his own pleasures, he set so bad an example to his own subjects, that his precepts were ineffectual. Notwithstanding that Kutbu-d-dín achieved victories, conquered whole countries, and subdued Gujrát, Deogír, and other places, and notwithstanding that wealth and abundance were diffused among the people, yet at last his disposition became soured, and all his excellent qualities were converted into vices.

It was not long before tyranny resumed its reign, and blood began to flow as freely as in the reign of his father. He associated with singers and buffoons, and even insulted the saintly and revered Sheikh Nizámu-l-Hakk. Amidst these manifold sources of ruin and calamity, the greatest arose from his affection for a Hindú lad, of the Paráwan caste, whom he named Khusrú Khán, and elevated above the heads of all the nobles in the kingdom. All the remonstrances of his counsellors were of no avail, and he only repeated to his favorite what people said of him, telling him that all his kingdom, his chiefs, his army, were not in his estimation worth a hair of Khusrú Khán's head;—which of course only augmented the pride and insolence of the favorite.

One night when they were at their revels, the ungrateful wretch murdered his patron, and threw his body down from the roof of the Hazár-Sitún. He then ruthlessly massacred all the children, women, slaves, and all the families related to Aláu-d-dín, and utterly exterminated them, so that the vengeance of Almighty God at last overtook Aláu-d-dín for his treacherous murder of Jalálu-d-dín, and it was shown that "we shall all be rewarded according to our deeds."

After this wholesale massacre, Khusrú Khán, by means of his wealth and the assistance of the Hindús, as well as because he had removed all opponents, proclaimed himself Sultán, ascended the throne, lavished the treasures, left by Aláu-d-dín and Kutbu-d-dín, upon the people of the city of all degrees, and assumed an air of royal pride and haughtiness. He increased the state and dignity of his Hindú relations, and of the few Musulmáns who adhered to his cause, and took to himself the wife of Aláu-d-dín, before the usual period of mourning had expired. Hindús, during this period, took the women of Musulmáns to their houses, and made seats and foot-stools of the sacred volume. They worshipped their idols in mosques, and rejoiced extravagantly throughout the whole country, that Dehli had again become Hindú. For four months, prayers were read for that ungrateful Hindú in the public pulpits, and his vile name was stamped on the coin of the realm.

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Sultán Muhammed, son of Tughlak Sháh:

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It was about this time that the whole of the Dúáb became unable any longer to bear up against the grievous rack-renting and oppressive taxes. The people in despair set fire to their barns and stacks, and carrying away their cattle, became wanderers on the wide world. Upon this, the Sultán gave orders that every such peasant who might be seized should be put to death, and that the whole country should be ravaged and given up to indiscriminate plunder. He even himself marched out of the city for that purpose, as if he had been going on a hunting expedition, put to sword all the remaining population, and ordered their heads to be displayed from the battlements of the fort. In this way, he utterly depopulated whole tracts of his kingdom, and inflicted such rigorous punishment, that the whole world stood aghast. In short, the cruelties of this tyrant, whom some men call the just, surpass all belief.

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Ghaiásu-d-dín Tughlak Sháh.

Upon the death of king Fíroz, Tughlak Sháh, the son of Prince Fateh Khán, was raised to the throne in the palace of Fírozábád. Having distributed among his nobles the high offices of the empire, he despatched a large army against Sultán Muhammed Sháh, who, after a slight resistance, proceeded from Sirmúr to Suket, whence he fled to Nágarcote, being pursued by the army of Tughlak Sháh.

Under the influence of his youthful passions, Tughlak Sháh gave himself up to debauchery and frivolity, and having but little experience in the concerns of government, thought it incumbent on him to imprison his own brother, Khurram Arslán Sháh; upon which Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, the son of Sultán Fíroz, actuated by the fear and suspicion arising from the fate of the Prince, took to flight.

Malik Ruknu-d-dín, the Deputy Wazír, and a number of other nobles, having joined Abú Bakr, marched out and put Malik Mabárak Kabír to death, before the entrance of Tughlak Sháh's palace at Firozábád, and the king, alarmed at the superior power of the rebels, fled with Khán Jehán through the gate facing the Jumná. Malik Ruknu-d-dín pursued and seized him, and putting him and his followers to death, suspended their heads from that gate. "What pleasures are there under the sky? The kid frolics before the butcher's shambles."

This event occurred on the 21st Sufar 791 A. H. Tughlak Sháh reigned six months and eighteen days.

Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán, son of Sultán Fíroz.

Abú Bakr, after subjugating his enemies, was placed on the throne with the title of Abú Bakr Sháh, and possessing himself of the treasure, retinue and armies of Fíroz Sháh, became all-powerful.

Sultán Muhammed, proceeding from Nagarcote to Sámánah, proclaimed himself king, and commenced collecting an army. The Amír Jadída (Moghul levies) of Sámánah and the owners of lands situated at the foot of the hills, acknowledged his supreme authority. Some of the nobles, deserting Abú Bakr Sháh, did Sultán Muhammed homage, and the Sultán marched well equipped on Dehli from Sámánah, and by the time he reached the environs of that city, he had collected a body of Cavalry to the amount of fifty thousand men. On the 25th Rabíu-l-ákhir 791, A. H. he reached the palace of Jehán-numái.

On the 2nd of Jamádíu-l-awwal a battle was fought between the Sultán and Abú Bakar, in which the former sustained a total defeat. Crossing the Jumna with two thousand horse, he entered the Dúáb, and sent back his son, named Humaiyún Khán, to Sámánah, with orders to collect an army and join him, while he himself continued at Jalesar near the banks of the Jumna.

A fresh army of fifty thousand horse and foot was accordingly raised. In the month of Sha'bán of the same year, Sultán Muhammed marched on Dehli, a second time, and again encountered Abú Bakar Sháh. But Sultán Muhammed's fortune being still unpropitious, he was defeated in this battle likewise. "Though you make the dust of battle rise like columns of smoke, yet will your bravery be unavailing, if fortune does not favour you. If the key is not in your hand, no force will enable you to wrest open the door of victory."

Sultán Muhammed Sháh, still continuing at Jalesar, issued orders to the people of Multán, Lahore, and several other places, directing them to kill the dependants of Fíroz Sháh, wherever they might find them. Accordingly, a general massacre and great depredation ensued, roads were closed, travelling ceased, and houses were desolated.

In the month of Muharram 792, A. H. Prince Humaiyún Khán marched out, accompanied by several of the nobles, and laid waste the environs of Dehli, but Abú Bakar Sháh, despatching a force to oppose him, put him to flight.

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Sultán Sikander Sháh Lodí.

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About this time the scarcity of corn was so great that the people were relieved of the established zakát.

It is said that one day a Bráhmin declared in the presence of several Muhammedans that the religion of Islám was true, but that his own religion was also true. When this declaration reached the ear of the Doctors, they reported it to the Sultán, and as he was remarkably fond of religious questions and theological controversies, he summoned the learned from various quarters, and invited their opinion on what the Bráhmin had asserted. The learned gave it unanimously as their opinion that he should be imprisoned, and that he should then be desired to embrace Islám, and if he should reject it, that he should be slain. Accordingly, when the Bráhmin was desired to embrace the Muhammedan religion, he refused to do so, and he was put to death. Many other similar instances of his zeal for religion occurred during his reign.

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In his time, Hindú temples were razed to the ground, and neither name nor vestige of them was allowed to remain. In the city of Mathura no Hindú was allowed to shave his head or beard, and there was not a barber that dared disobey the injunction. He prohibited the procession of the spear of Sálár Mas'ud Ghází, which went every year to Bahraich, and women were not allowed to go on pilgrimages to shrines.

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Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sikander Lodí.

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In his time, corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandize were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultán Aláu-d-dín Khiljí,—but even that is doubtful. Moreover, in the time of the latter, the cheapness was occasioned by every kind of interference and oppression, and by a hundred thousand enforcements and punishments, whereas the cheapness of this reign was occasioned by abundant harvests. In the time of Sikandar, also, the markets were very cheap, but still not so much so as in the time of Ibráhim. Ten maunds of corn could be purchased for one Behlolí: five sérs of clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth, could be purchased for the same coin. Every thing else was in the same exuberance; the reason of all which was, that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently abundant, and produce increased ten-fold beyond the usual proportion. The Sultán issued an edict that his chiefs and nobles of every degree should take nothing but corn in payment of rent, and no money was to be taken from the cultivators on any account. Countless quantities of grain accumulated in the several jágírs, and as ready money only was necessary for maintaining the personal expenses of the nobles, they were eager to sell their grain at any price which was procurable. If one offered four maunds for the Behlolí, another, on account of his necessities, or for annoyance, or envy, would offer five, and some even more than that, until at last the abundance of God's blessings reached such a height, that ten maunds would sell for a Behlolí. Gold and silver were only procurable with the greatest difficulty.

A horseman received five tankas a month, and if any one spent a hundred tankas, he might be considered to be possessed of great wealth. If a traveller wished to proceed from Dehli to Agra, one Behlolí would suffice for the expense of himself, his horse, and four attendants, and would even carry them through with all that they could possibly desire.

Sultán Ibráhím, son of Sikander Lodí, reigned eight years.

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Shere Khán.

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In the year 950 H. Púran-mal, son of Salhdí, held occupation of the fort of Ráísain, and brought several of the neighbouring Perganahs under subjection. He had a thousand women in his Haram, and amongst them several Musalmánís. After Shere Khán had been sometime engaged in investing the fort, an accommodation was proposed, and it was finally agreed that Púran-mal, with his family, and children, and four thousand Hindús of note, should be allowed to leave the fort unmolested. Several men learned in the law gave it as their opinion that they should all be slain, notwithstanding the solemn engagement which had been entered into. Consequently, the whole army, with the elephants, surrounded Púran-mal's encampment. The Rájpúts fought with desperate bravery, and after killing their women and children, and then burning them, they rushed to battle, and were annihilated to a man.

After that, Shere Khán retired to Karra, and after remaining there sometime, set out on an expedition to Márwár, and at every stage he dug an entrenchment and raised a temporary fortress, advancing with the greatest care and circumspection. Whenever he met with a sandy soil and could not raise a fortress, he piled up a heap of sacks, and constructed a defensible position out of them.

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Shere Khán made the road which now runs from Dehli to Agra, by cutting through jungles, removing all obstacles, and building saráís. Before that time, people had to travel through the Dúáb between those two places. There was so much security in travelling during his reign, that if a lone woman were to sleep in a saráí with silver and gold about her person, no one would dare to commit theft upon her; and if it ever did so happen that any one lost any property, the Mukaddams of the village, which was the scene of the robbery were subject to fine, and for fear of its infliction, the Zemíndárs used to patrol the roads at night.

Shere Khán founded many cities after his own name, as Sheregarh, Shere-cote; and since the Dehli of Aláu-d-dín's time was far from the river Jumna, he demolished it, and founded a new city on the banks of the river, which exists to this day. He erected also for its defence a broad wall, which the shortness and precariousness of his reign did not admit of his completing.

It is said that once when looking in a glass, he exclaimed, "Alas! that I have attained the empire only when I have reached old age, and when the time for evening prayer has arrived. Had it been otherwise, the world would have seen what I would

have accomplished." Sometimes he would say, by way of showing what difficult and even impossible objects he contemplated, "I would have made a bridge to span the ocean, so that even a widowed and helpless woman might without difficulty perform the pilgrimage to Mecca." To this day there exists a caravansera of his building at Mecca, in which Afghán fakírs reside.

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Akber.

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In the year 985, H. a magnificent comet appeared on the western horizon, about the time of evening prayer, and there it remained for two hours, exceedingly brilliant, and inspiring great terror. It remained visible for several months, and always appeared at prayer-time. When the astrologers were desired to ascertain and report what its appearance portended, they replied, that the effects of that star with long locks would be felt most severely in the countries of Irák and Khorásán; and, true enough, Sháh Ism'íl, father of Sháh Tahmásp, ruler of Irán, departing this life about that time, went to the land of eternity, and grievous troubles ensued in that country.

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'Up to this time, the King used to attend public worship at the five stated times, whether he was in the capital or in camp, and the reciters of the Kurán, who were on the royal establishment, used to read that sacred book both at prayer, and at other times. Indeed the King himself used to take the lead in worship.

One of the incidents of the year 986 H. was the King's abandonment of the national religion, which became a stumbling block to many people weak in the faith. The cause of this dereliction was, that the court became the centre of attraction to all sects, persuasions, and people, to the learned of Khorásán, Irák, Máwaráu-n-nahr, and Hindústán, to doctors and theologians, to Shías and Sunnís, to Christians and Philosophers, to Bráhmins and professors of every existing religion. These all upon hearing not only of the King's affability and condescension, but his superiority to all others in regal dignity and power, as well as in humility, flocked to his presence, and occupying themselves with relations of history and travels, and dissertations about revelations, prophecies, and religions, were perpetually engaged in angry controversies, and as generally happens with confirmed disputants, all were eager to draw others to their own views and persuasions, and passed day and night in "yeaing and naying." As this was the first time that the King had heard these discussions upon past history, customs, and religions of other nations, he was much struck with the novelty. He endeavoured to extract

what was good from the contrary opinions which were expressed, giving the most deliberate attention to all that he heard, for his mind was solely bent upon ascertaining the truth. If some of his companions had their dispositions and sentiments affected by the inherent sin of their nature during these controversies, and became unable to withstand the temptations to apostacy, that is another matter;—love of the world may have actuated them. The king used openly to say in the presence of his officers, doctors and chiefs,—"My sole object, oh! wise Mullas, is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its divine origin. Take care, therefore, that through the influence of your human passions, you are not induced to conceal the truth: and say nothing contrary to the almighty decrees. If you do, you are responsible before God for the consequences of your impiety."

Previous to the time that this address was made, several doctors and theologians of Hindústán, such as Mauláná Abdullah Sultánpúrí, commonly known as Makkdúmu-l-mulk, and Sheikh Abdu-n-nabí, the Sadar, and others, were constantly present at Court, and received great favours from the king. The two learned men first mentioned were considered the best authorities on all questions pertaining to religion and law, but they frequently held opposite opinions to one another, and expressed themselves in tones of anger and recrimination, so that at last their credit and reputation declined in the king's estimation, and he became indifferent to the religion which they professed. The common people learning day after day something about the nature of the subjects discussed in these assemblages, could so little comprehend the real purpose for which they were held, that they misrepresented the king's object in encouraging them, and entertained suspicions of his motives which were derogatory to his character, and but little deserved.

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One of the wonders of art which was exhibited during this year (A. H. 1003,) was the work of Saiyid Hasan Shírází. He placed a chest before him, and when any one gave him a rupee, he threw it into the chest, and it kept on rolling until it fell into the lowest compartment. Upon this, a parrot which was chained to it began to speak, and two fowls began also to cackle at one another. Then a small window opened, at which a panther put out its head, and let a shell fall from its mouth into a dish which was placed on a lion's head, and the shell then came out of the lion's mouth. A short time elapsed, when another door opened, and another lion came forth, took the shell in its mouth, and retired, and the doors again closed. Two elephants then appeared with perfect trunks, and there were also two figures of men, who sounded trumpets. A rope then thrust itself forward, and again

retreated, of its own accord. Two other men then advanced, and made obeisance. Shortly after, another door opened, and a puppet came forth with an ode of Háfiz in its hand, and when the ode was taken away from the puppet, it retired, and the door was closed. In short, whenever a piece of money was placed in the hands of Hasan Shírází, all these marvels were exhibited. The king first gave a gold mohur with his own hand, and witnessed the sight. He then ordered his attendants to give a rupee each. The odes which were presented were given by the king to Nakíb Khán, by whom they were read out. This exhibition lasted for several nights.

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During the year 1004, H. there was a scarcity of rain throughout the whole of Hindústán, and a fearful famine raged continuously for three or four years. The king ordered that alms should be distributed in all the cities, and Nawáb Sheikh Farid Bokhárí being ordered to superintend and control their distribution, did all in his power to relieve the general distress of the people. Public tables were spread, and the army was increased, in order to afford maintenance to the poor people. A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up by dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal.

In this year also, the King, while witnessing an antelope-fight, was wounded in the thigh by one of their horns, which penetrated very deep. Great alarm was felt throughout the country, but after retiring for a few days to the inner apartments, and seating himself on the carpet of affliction, he recovered, by the blessing of God, and restored comfort to the hearts of all the worlds.

One of the curiosities exhibited this year was manufactured by the most celebrated physician of the time, Hakím Alí. It filled every beholder with wonderment, however wise he might be. He built a room of about the ordinary breadth and length, to which the only entrance was at the top, by a sort of trapdoor. Nevertheless, over the roof of the room he constructed a reservoir, which remained full of water, and although no one could enter the room except by plunging into the bath,—when upon reaching this single entrance he gained access to the room, which he found furnished by carpets, books, and all the conveniences of a sitting room,—yet no water by any chance ever got into it. It is said that the King one day with some of his private companions got into the room in the way above indicated, and after remaining there some time enjoying their conversation, left it again by the passage through that single trap-door.

The Zubdatu-t-Tawárikh of Núru-l-Hakk is not uncommon in India. One of the best Manuscripts belongs to Nawwáb Surájuu-l-mulk, Minister of Haiderábád.

An examination of four copies shows them to be uniform in the initial lines :—

خطبهٔ کبریا و جلال بنام شاهنشاهي سزد که عالم و هرچه درعالم است افریدهٔ اوست و آدم و ادمیان نواخته و برگزیده اوجهان افرینی که براورده آسمان و زمین را و هرچه درآسمان و زمین است از ثوابت و سیارات وعناصر و موالید وبسائط و مرکبات بانتظام بدیع ومحکم ووضعي متین ومبین *

In two copies the last line of the conclusion is omitted :—

واین تفصیل درذکر سلطان بهلول نوشته شده است ومدت سلطنتش نوزده سال بود بعد ازان سلطنت سلاطین شرقیه سپري شد شش نفرمدت نود وهشت سال پادشاهي کردند ودرگذشتند وذکرایشان یادگار ماند *

چه سرها که شاهان برافراختند * دراخرگذشتند بگذاشتند

XXVI.

روضة الطاهرين

RAUZATU-T-TÁHIRÍN.

The "Garden of the Immaculate," a general history by Táhir Muhammed bin Imádu-d-Dín Hasan bin Sultán Alí bin Hájí Muhammed Husain Sabzwárí. It was commenced A. H. 1011—A. D. 1602-3,—three years before the death of Akber, and concluded A. H. 1015—A. D. 1606-7,—after the accession of Jehángír; and as the year of the Hijrah 1011 is numerically represented by Rauzat, the author, as he tells us in his preface, has combined that word with his own name, Táhir, to form the fanciful title he has given to his history.

The contents of the work are much the same as those of other general Asiatic histories. It begins with a copious Index, which it is to be regretted other authors have not imitated. It extends to the 45th page, and serves as a chronological table, as it shows how long each sovereign reigned.

The Raúzatu-t-Táhirín is divided into five Books (kism), subdivided into Chapters (báb), and Sections (fasl). Some of these Sections are

more minutely subdivided, not for the mere purpose of showing the author's ingenuity, but because the different Dynasties treated of really required the distinction.

CONTENTS.

Book I.—Comprises an account of the creation, forty prophets, twenty-two ancient sages, Persian and Arabic Dynasties before Muhammed, including the Peshdádians, Kaiánians, Áshkánians, Sássánians, and Ghassánians. In three Chapters:—from p. 45 to 641.

Book II.—The Khalífas, and the Dynasties which rose under the Abbásides, such as the Táhirides, Sámánians, Búyides or Deilemites, Ghaznevides, Ghorians, Karákhitáyans, Seljúkians, Átábaks, &c. In four Chapters:—from p. 641 to 826.

Book III.—The Dynasties of Tátárs, Móghuls, and Turks, Óthmanlís of Çónstantinople, Changez Khán, Timúr, and their predecessors and descendants, with several other Dynasties, including the Kará-kúínlú and Ák-kúínlú* rulers, and the Safví kings of Persia. In seven Chapters:—from p. 826 to 981.

Book IV.—"On the Rulers of India, previous to the introduction of Muhammedanism, called the Bráhmins of Hind; who, when troubles and disorganization prevailed, made their appearance, as persons endowed with every excellence, for the regeneration of the country. Their appearance is called *Avatár*, of which there have been nine from the beginning of the creation until now, i. e. from the Fish Avatár down to Khrishna Avatár."

Abstract of the Mahábhárata and Harbans Purán; the history of the Súrajbans and Chandarbans Rájás, and those who succeeded them. In two Chapters and a Conclusion.

Book V.—The Sultáns of India, beginning with the Slave kings and ending with Akber, and an account of his contemporaries, comprising fourteen nobles, fifty-seven poets, twenty-four doctors and philosophers; the rulers of Sind, Multán, Cashmír, Guzerát, Málwa, Deccan, Jaunpúr, and Bengál; the wonders of the world, including an account of Ceylon, Pegu, Arracan, Cúch Behár, and Portugal. In four Chapters:—from p. 981 to 1200.

SIZE—Folio, 1200 pages, containing 23 lines in a page.

* Respecting the orthography of these names, see above, p. 137. It might have been added that Briggs gives it as Koovinloo, (*Ferishta*, III. 341) which Hammer-Purgstall characterizes as being "in accordance with his usual perverse method of spelling." (*Jahrbücher*, No. li. p. 56.)

It will appear, therefore, that Book V. or about one-sixth of the entire work, is devoted to India; but as it contains in that portion little that is not equally well told elsewhere, it is not of much value, except as a useful compendium. It is unfortunate that the only useful portion of this Book, namely, the third Chapter on Indian Biographies, is not included in the Volume. A more serious hiatus occurs in the exclusion of the whole of Book IV., though there is no break in the paging. This, as well as the biographical portion, may form separate Volumes, or may, perhaps, not have been written, for they are not included in two copies which I have consulted.

The work is most copious in the legendary history of Persia, which is contained in Book I., comprising more than half the entire Volume.

The chief authorities quoted in the work are the Rauzatu-s-safá, Táríkh-i-guzída, Lubbu-t-tawáríkh, Táríkh-i-nizamí, and the Bahmanná-ma; and from these, several Chapters are copied verbatim.

EXTRACTS.

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín Muhammed Sám Ghorí led his army into Gujrát, and in the first action overthrew Ráí Bhoj Deo. In a second engagement between them, the Ráí succeeded in defeating the Sultán; but in a third which ensued, Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín completely routed his antagonist, and captured from him numerous elephants, together with all his regal equipage and property. On his return from Gujrát, he besieged Khusrú Malik, the Ghaznevide, in Lahore, and took from him some elephants and treasure.

Next year he marched his troops in the same direction, and entirely subdued Lahore, and appointing his own deputies to govern it, returned to Ghazní.

In India he captured several forts, such as those of Síálkot and Sirhind, and garrisoned them with his own men. Next season Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín made another expedition into India, and killed Rájá Pithaura in a single action. He left Sultán Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, one of his favorite slaves, in the fort of Kohrám, and returned to Ghazní.

The following year, the Sultán came again to India, and proceeded to Canauj, the Rájá of which place he reduced, took possession of three hundred elephants, and appointed Sultán Kutbu-d-dín viceroy at Delhi.

* * * * * *

Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín soon after turned his attention towards reducing some disaffected Khokar chiefs, who had revolted on the confines of Lahore, during the Sultán's absence. Thence he advanced to Lahore, and recaptured the hills of Sewálik from the Zemíndárs, and having, ordered his army to Delhi under the command of Kutbu-d-dín Eibek, he left Lahore to return to Ghazní, but was assassinated at Damek on his way, in the month of Sha'bán, 602, A. H. by some Khokars who had vowed to accomplish this object. Sultán Mú'izzu-d-dín's reign lasted four years.

* * * * * *

Sultán Muhammed A'dil.

In the year 961, H. Sultán Muhammed Á'dil ascended the throne. He favoured many of the chiefs of his army, and promoted their interests; he summoned to his presence Mían Ma'rúf, the adoptive father of Selím Khán; but Mían Ma'rúf prayed to be excused; the king then ordered Mían Sháh Muhammed, and his grandson Sekander, to attend; on their obeying His Majesty's commands, Sarmast Khán intimated to them that the Sultán had been pleased to dispossess them of their jágír of Canauj, and to confer it on himself, and recommended them to solicit of the king another jágír instead. On hearing this, Sekander inquired of His Majesty the reason why he and Sháh Muhammed had been deprived of the jágír which had been so long in their possession, and of its being bestowed on such a low dog-seller as Sarmast Khán. This reflection on his origin having exasperated Sarmast, he looked for an opportunity when he might assassinate Sekander without being observed, but the latter perceiving Sarmast's design, stabbed him with a dagger, and then ran towards the king, who fled into the inner apartments of the palace. In the confusion that ensued, the attendants of His Majesty also sought safety by flight. It is said that Mullá Majdu-d-dín, one of the ministers, was so bewildered by this tragedy that was acting around him, that he got upon a wall, taking it for a horse, and began to dig his heels into it, and urge it on. Sekan-

der observed his strange attitude, and exclaimed, "Be not afraid, you, are quite safe." Sekander Khán then put several other amírs to death; but Ibráhím Khán Súr, with some others, furiously assaulted him, and despatching him with their swords and lances, sent him to the world of non-entity. On the death of Sháh Muhammed and his sons, Daulat Khán Lohání became so wealthy that, in imitation of Sultán Muhammed Tughlak Sháh, he used to fill little vessels with pieces of gold and silver, and disperse them in different directions, and whoever was fortunate enough to secure one of these vessels, received the sum of 500 Tankas from the royal treasury on presenting it.*

The nobles and officers of the army, finding Sultán Muhammed totally neglectful of the administration of the country, assumed independence. Hemún, by caste a Bania, inhabitant of Rewárí having ingratiated himself with the monarch, was appointed commander-in-chief of his army, and Shamsher Khán, a slave of Sher Khán, was invested with the title of Daulat Khán. Táj Khán Kerání, with Imád and Sulaimán his brothers, revolted against the Sultán, and fled from Gwáliár towards Behár and Bengál. Sultán Muhammed Adalí being informed of their proceedings, detached some forces to pursue them closely. They came to action near Canauj, where Táj Khán was defeated, and fled towards Chunár, and shut himself up in that exceedingly strong fortress. Hemún, accompanied by a large army, and well supplied with elephants, crossed the river Ganges, beseiged Chunár, took it by storm, and fully established the Sultán's power by these repeated successes.

About this time, Ibráhím Khán, son of Ghází Khán Súr, cousin and brother-in-law of Adalí, took alarm and fled to Biána. Sultán Muhammed despatched Ísa Khán Níází to chastise him; an action ensued in the vicinity of Kalpí, in which Ísa Khán Níází was completely defeated. Ibráhím Khán then repaired to Dehli, where he ascended the throne, assumed the title of Sultán Ibráhím Sháh, coined money in his own name, and extended his authority over several towns and districts near the capital.

In consequence of this rebellion, Sultán Muhammed Adelí was compelled to suspend his expedition against the Keránians, and marched, without a halt, to the banks of the Jumna, where he encamped. Ibráhím Khán sent a message to say, that if the Sultán would send Hasan Jalwání, and Pahár Khán Shirwáni, commonly called A'zam Humaiyún, with some other nobles, to

* Other authors say that arrows tipped with precious metal were dispersed and paid for at the above value, and with much more probability they ascribe the extravagant folly to Muhammed Adil, whose ignorance and absurdity obtained for him the nickname of Adalí (the foolish.)

ensure him a safe conduct, he would come and consult regarding the terms of a treaty of peace. They were accordingly sent, and upon their swearing that Ibráhím Khán should be well treated, he left the city, and encamped opposite to Adelí: who taking alarm at Ibráhím's means of resistance, broke up his camp, and went off.

Meanwhile, the Jágírdárs of the Panjáb, such as Tátár Khán Káshí and Haibat Khán, set up Nasíb Khán, brother-in-law of Adelí, as king, with the title of Sultán Sekander, and marched with the intention of opposing Sultán Ibráhím, but on arriving near Farrah, twenty miles from Agra, they became alarmed at the strength of the enemy, and made proposals of accommodation, to the effect that Sekander should rule the Panjáb, and that all the rest of Hindústán, from the borders of Sirhind and Dehli, should remain with Ibráhím. But Ibráhím would not listen to these terms, and trusting his fortune to the chance of war, was defeated, and fled to Sambal, when the provinces of Agra and Dehli came into Sekander's possession.

It was about this time, that Nasíru-d-dín Muhammed Humayún arrived at Lahore from Cábul. Upon which Sekander hastened towards Lahore, and being defeated by the Moghul troops, fled to the hills.

Of the few copies which I know of this history, one is in the possession of Sháhzáda Mírzá Ghulám Fakhru-d-dín Bahádar, son of the king of Dehli; the second is in the Asiatic Society's Library, containing only the three first Books; the third is in the Library of Nawwáb Suráju-l-mulk, minister of Haiderábád, labelled with the name of Táríkh-í-Táhirí, under which it is often quoted by those authors who have consulted the work. There is also one at Mírat, and one in the Motí Mahall Library at Lakhnau.

Major Stewart mentions it in his Catalogue,* but though he divides it into five Books, it is evident from his table of contents that his Volume comprises only the three first Books.

* *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library*, p. 6.

M. Fraehn classes the Rauzatu-t-Táhirín amongst his desiderata.*

The Rauzatu-t-Táhirín commences with the words :—

بعد از حمد باري سبحانه و تعالی صلوٰة نا محدود و درود غیر معدود بدان مظهر جود صاحب مقام محمود محمد صلی الله علیه وسلم و علی آله و اصحابه اجمعین که هر یک عقده کشاي دین و پیشوای راه یقین *

It concludes thus, after an expression of thanks to God, that the author had been allowed to bring his laborious task to completion :—

نظم

اي فرازندهٔ این چرخ بلند وي نوازنده دلهاي نژند
در دولت برخم بکشادي تاج عزت بسرم بنهادي
حد من نیت ثنایت گفتن گوهر شکر عطایت سفتن
نعم و شکر نعم هردو زتست نشود جز بتواین کار درست
شکر گویان ترا چرم زبان یک نوالیست ازین خوان بدهان
دارم امید که این طرفه کلام که چون عقده گهر اید بنظام
بنماید زمدد کاري غیب پیش ارباب هنر دور زعیب
لطف بیغایت اصحاب کرم کند اصلاح خللهای قلم

حق سبحانه که بر آورندهٔ مقاصد و مطالب است همکنان را از کدورات روزگار در امان داشته عاقبت امور را محمود و معمور گرداند بمنه و کمال کرمه *

* *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 216.

XXVII.

منتخب التواريخ

MUNTAKHABU-T-TAWARÍKH.

This common title has been bestowed upon his General History, by Hasan bin Muhammed al-Khákí al-Shírází, who came to India in the time of Akber, and obtained different offices under the government. He tells us, that from his early youth he imbibed a great taste for historical literature, which was so much increased on his arrival in India, "the abode of security," that he determined to write a work, which should embrace in one volume an account of the Prophets, Saints, Sultáns, Philosophers, Poets, and Wazírs. He has certainly fulfilled his intention as far as comprehensiveness goes, for he includes in it all the known Dynasties of Asia, but the separate biographies, except of the Prophets and Sultáns, seem to have been overlooked. The compilation is of little use to the Indian historian.

His authorities are many and good; some of them not to be found without difficulty in these days. He mentions the Rauzatu-s-safá, Habíbu-s-siyar, Mujmal Fasíhí, Ibn Khallikán, Jehánkushái, Tárikh-i-Rashídí of Mírzá Haider Cash-

mírí, Akbernáma, Tárikh-i-Nizámí, Táríkh-i-Fíroz-sháhí of Zíya Barní, Tabakát-i-Násirí, Táríkh-i-Binákatí, Jehán-árá, and Táríkh-i-Abú-l-fazl Behakí. He states that he commenced the work before the close of Akber's reign, and completed it in the 5th year of Jehángír's, A. H. 1019—A. D. 1610-11—in which year, as he tells us at the close of his history, he was appointed Díwán of Pátna.

The work consists of various detached histories, not divided, with the usual display of minute accuracy, into Books, Chapters, and Sections.

CONTENTS.

The Prophets.—Ancient Persian Kings.—Kings of Bábil and Assyria.—Israelites.—Yúnán.—Himyarites.—Yemen.—Ghassán.—Hyrah.—Turkish Kings from Japhet.—Tátárs.—Moghuls.—Muhammed and the first Khalífas.—Imáms.—Ummayides.—Abbásides.—Táhirites.—Aghlabites.—Túlúnites.—Ikhshídites.*—Hamadánites.—Saffárians.—Sámánians.—Alptegínites.—Ghaznivides.—Atábaks.—Obaydites.—Khwárazm-sháhís.—Ghoriansand kings of Dehli.—Aiyúbites.—Kings of the Arabs.—Rulers of Turkistán before Changez Khán.—Changez Khán and his descendants.—Various Rulers of Persia, Ilkhánians, &c. &c.—Various Rulers of India, viz. Deccan.—Gujrát.—Málwa.—Khándes.—Bengal.—Jaunpúr.—Cashmír.—Sind.—Multán.—Othmanlies of Constantinople.—Gúrgánians.—Báber.—Humaiyún.—Akber.—Jehángír.—Safí kings of Persia.

SIZE.—Small Folio, containing 884 pages of 17 lines each; but the codex is here and there defective, and the history of the Safí, Súfí, or Saffaví kings of Persia, mentioned in the copious table of contents, occupying nearly six pages of the preface, is not bound up with this volume. A note in the beginning of the volume states that it contains 522 folios, which was probably the correct number before the abstractions.

* For an account of these Dynasties, see M. de Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom. III. pp. 124—154.

Of the portions relating to India, the history of the Ghaznivides occupies from fol. 86 verso to 90 v.;—the ancient history of the Ghorians, and the kings of Dehli, from Shahábu-d-dín to Ibráhím bin Sekander Lodí, from fol 141 recto to 157 v.;—the minor Dynasties of India, from 262 v. to 344 r.; of which Gujrát occupies 18 folios, and Cashmír 20. The account of Báber begins at fol. 372 r., Humaiyún 373 r., Akber 385 v. and Jehángír 437 v.

In these latter portions he has been very particular with regard to his dates, his official duties having probably taught him the value of correctness in such matters; for in the two short extracts which follow, we find him at one time a paymaster, and at another a revenue accountant.

EXTRACTS.

On the 5th of Shehriyúr 1003 A. H., Muzaffer Husain Mírzá, son of Sultán Husaín Mírzá, son of Bahrám Mírzá Safí, arrived from his Jágír of Kandhár, at the Court of the emperor Akber, and was appointed an Amír of 5000. The Sirkár of Sambhal was assigned to him in Jágír, and Kandhár to Sháh Beg Khán Cábulí.

On Saturday the 9th of Safar 1004, A. H. Sheikh Faizí, "the chief of poets," died. He was born on the 1st of Sha'bán 954, A. H. The year 1004, A. H. was marked also by the death of Hakím Humám, brother of Hakím Abú-l-fateh, and by Prince Sháh Murád's conquest of Berár, a province of the Deccan within the government of Nizámu-l-mulk. On the 18th of Murdád of this year, a deer gored the emperor and caused a severe wound. The pain was very excruciating for twenty-nine days, and his danger created a sensation throughout Hindústán, until he was cured. Rájá Alí Khán, ruler of Khándes, was slain in battle this year in the Deccan, where he was present with the royal army.

In the year 1005, A. H. a tent, which was pitched in the palace on the occasion of the festival of Nauroz, caught fire, and the articles collected there, according to custom on such occasions, were consumed by the flames. On the 21st Ferwardín, the emperor proceeded on an excursion to Cashmír, where he sojourned

for three months and twenty days. His Majesty afterwards came back to Lahore, and sent Prince Dániál to Allahábád, to assume charge of the government of that Súba. He was honored with a Mansab of 1000, and Kalíj Khán was appointed his private tutor. In this year, Mírzá Rustam, son of Prince Sháh Murád, died at Lahore, aged three years and three months.

On the 17th of Shehriyúr 1006, A. H. the emperor appointed Ráí Hardás to act as a minister conjointly with Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín.

On the 23rd Ábán of this year, Minúchihr Beg, with five hundred Kazilbásh horse, waited upon the emperor at Lahore, as an ambassador from Sháh Abbás, accompanied by Mír Ziáu-l-mulk, who had been sent to Sháh Abbás by the emperor on a mission, in company with Yádgár Sultán.

On the 26th of this month, the emperor left Lahore for Agra, with the view of expediting the conquest of the Deccan.

On the 22nd of Urdíbehisht, prince Sháh Murád died in the Deccan. On the 2nd of the month Mihr, prince Dániál was sent to subdue the Deccan. In the latter part of this year, Ásaf Khán was honored with the post of a chief Díwán.

On the 6th of Mihr 1007, A. H. the emperor, having placed Agra under the protection of Kalíj Khán, marched towards the Deccan. Sultán Selím was sent to Ajmír, accompanied by Rájá Mán Sing and Sháh Kulí Khán Muharram, to chastise the Amírs under the Ráná of Udípúr. In this year, the emperor granted Gujrát in Jágír to Khán A'zam, and deputed the eldest son of Khán A'zam to settle the affairs of that province. The writer of this history was sent from the neighbourhood of Dípálpúr, to take charge of the office of paymaster at Gujrát.

In 1008, A. H. Khwájah Shamsu-d-dín, who, after the march of the emperor to Agra, had been appointed to the office of the Díwán of the Panjáb, expired. In the same year, prince Selím, who had been directed to chastise the Ráná of Udípúr, assumed the title of king, when he reached the neighbourhood of Allahábád, plundered the treasury of Behár which contained three lacs of rupees, and resumed all the Jágírs which had been bestowed upon the servants of the Court.

* * * * * *

On Sunday the 14th of Safar 1019, A. H. an individual of the name of Kutb, born in Ujah of Multán, and who, by styling himself Sultán Khusrú, had gained over a considerable number of lawless Ujení Rújpúts to make common cause with him, entered the city of Patna and made himself master of it, as well as of its fort, in consequence of the absence in Gorakhpúr of the Governor of Behár, named Afzal Khán, son of Sheikh Abú-l-fazl. The treasure which was in the fort was distributed among his troops. Afzal Khán, on learning these circumstances, made forced marches, and on Friday the 19th Safar, reached the banks of the

Punpun, eight miles from Patna. Kutb, with the design of forcing him to an engagement, came out of the city, and a bloody battle ensued, in which Kutb was defeated. He then fled and sought safety within the fort, which at length fell into the hands of the governor, when Kutb was taken prisoner and put to death, on Sunday the 21st of Safar.

After a month, orders were issued by the emperor, directing that Ilyás Bahádar, Ináyet Beg Díwán, Sheikh Hasám of Benares, and several others who had dastardly fled from Patna, although the protection of that city had been committed to their charge by Afzal Khán, should be paraded on asses all the way to Agra, with their heads and beards entirely shorn off, and dressed in female apparel.

The writer of this history was at this time sent to Patna, the Díwání of that place having been conferred on him.

On the 8th of Zíka'dáh 1019, A. H. Khán A'zam, at the head of twelve thousand horse, was despatched on an embassy to Sháh Abbás.

This work is very rare. I know of only one copy extant, and that of some antiquity, in the Motí Mahall library at Lakhnau.

The initial lines are :—

زبان قلم و قلم زبانرا قدرت و قوت ان کجا است که وصف بیچونی ذات بے انتها وقادر توانا که عقل کلل اثر کمال حیرت در بحر تفکر غوطه خورده تواندکرد *

The concluding lines of the single Manuscript consulted are as follows ; but the work, as before observed, is defective :—

مسود اوراق را بدیوانے انصوبه سرفراز نموده مرخص ساختند و بتاریخ هشتم زیقعده سنه تسع عشرة والف خان اعظم را بادوازده هزار سوار به شاه عباس ارزانی داشت *

XXVIII.

تاريخ فرشتہ

TARÍKH-I-FERISHTA.

This work is by common consent, and not undeservedly, considered superior to all the other General Histories of India. The author, Muhammed Kásim Hindú Sháh, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Asterábád, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, about A. D. 1570.* His father, a learned man, by name Ghulám Alí Hindú Sháh, left his native country, when our author was very young, and travelled into India. He eventually reached Ahmednagar in the Deccan, during the reign of Murtiza Nizám Sháh, and was appointed to instruct Mírán Husain, the son of Murtiza, in the Persian language; but he died soon after this selection, and Ferishta was left an orphan in early youth.

The introduction which his father's acquirements had procured for him at Court, secured for the son the favour and patronage of Murtiza Nizám Sháh, so that we find him the

* This is according to the opinion of his translator, General Briggs; but M. Jules Mohl adduces a good reason for the probability of his having been born 20 years earlier, or A. D. 1550.—*Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 213.

confidential counsellor of his sovereign, and holding the office of Captain of the Guard, on the day that the king was deposed by Prince Mírán Husain, although he was then only sixteen or seventeen years of age.* He would have met the same fate as all the rest of the king's attendants, had not the prince recognized him, and personally interposed to save his life.

When Mírán Husain was himself deposed and murdered, in less than a year after this event, Ferishta appears to have taken no active part in the troubles and revolutions which ensued. As he was a Shía, his religious persuasions were an obstacle to his acquiring any influence at a Court, where the Sunní was the predominant doctrine; and he not long after quitted Ahmednagar, and proceeded to Bíjápúr, where he arrived, according to his own statement, in the year 1589, and was kindly received by the regent and minister, Diláwar Khán, by whom he was presented to Ibráhím Ádil Sháh, the reigning monarch. It was not apparently till after the flight of the regent, that he was again introduced at the Court of Bíjápúr, by Inayet Khán of Shíráz. This occurred about the year 1593. The king, who had up to this period shown him no particular favour, received him graciously, and presented to him a copy of the Rauzatu-s-safá, remarking that no competent person had hitherto written a general history of

* The importance of the post he occupied would seem to show, that A. D. 1550 is a more probable date than 1570 for his birth.

the Muhammedans in India, except Nizámu-d-dín Bakhshí, and that his work was too brief and imperfect, especially as concerned the Deccan. The king at the same time enjoined him to supply the deficiency, and to avoid the falsehoods and flatteries which had always disfigured works of that nature. Previous to his introduction by Inayet Khán, he seems to have been engaged in a military capacity, for he speaks of his being wounded and taken a prisoner by Jamál Khán, the usurper of Ahmednagar,—but into the details of this there is no occasion to enter.

He shortly after effected his escape, and spent nearly the whole of the remainder of his life in high honour at the Court of Ibráhím Ádil Sháh, devoting his leisure to the composition of his history. He speaks little of himself after this occurrence, but in A. D. 1504, he escorted the princess Begam Sultána from Bíjápúr to Ahmednagar, was present at her nuptials with Prince Dániál Mírzá at Mungí Paitan, and attended her as far as Búrhánpúr in Khándes, the capital of her husband's government.

After his return to Bíjápúr, he was deputed on a mission to the emperor Jehángír, for the purpose, as General Briggs, with great probability supposes, of conveying his sovereign's condolence on the death Akber, and his congratulations on Jehángír's accession to the throne of the most potent empire in the east. Ferishta overtook the Court of Jehángír near Lahore, on its route to Cashmír, in the year

1606. He probably took a circuitous route on his return, for we find him speaking of Rohtás in Behár, as being the strongest fortress he had seen in India. During his travels, which at one time reached even to Badakhshán, he must of course have extended his observation, and amassed the materials which were made use of in his history.

The date of his death is altogether unknown. Briggs supposes that it occurred in 1612, making him only forty-one years of age. M. J. Mohl supposes him to have revised his work up to at least 1623, making his age not less than seventy-three.

The work is divided into an Introduction, twelve Chapters, and a Conclusion.

CONTENTS.

Introduction.—Upon the Hindús, and the progress of early Muhammedanism in India: pp. 5—30.
Book I.—The kings of Ghazní and Lahore: pp. 31—91.
II.—The kings of Dehli: pp. 92—517.
III.—The kings of the Deccan, in six Chapters—(1) Kalburga, (2) Bíjápúr, (3) Ahmednagar, (4) Tilanga, (5) Berár, (6) Bídar: pp. 518—730; and Vol. II. pp. 1—349.
IV.—The kings of Gujrát: pp. 350—460.
V.—The kings of Málwa: pp. 460—541.
VI.—The kings of Khándes: pp. 541—568.
VII.—The kings of Bengál and Behár: pp. 568—603.
IX.—The rulers of Sind: pp. 625—639.
X.—The kings of Cashmír: pp. 640—700.
XI.—An account of Malíbár: pp. 700—710.
XII.—An account of the Saints of India: pp. 710—786.
Conclusion.—An account of the climate and geography of India: pp. 786—892.

SIZE—Folio, in two Volumes. Vol. I. comprising 730 pages, and Vol. II. 892 pages, each containing 20 lines.

The introduction gives a very imperfect view of Indian History previous to the Muhammedan invasion, and may be considered of equal value and authenticity with the first ten Books of Livy, or Dr. Henry's first volume of the History of Great Britain, based on the poems of Ossian. Most of the other Indian Historians have followed in his wake, and not one of them has yet attempted any thing like a critical account of this dark period. Dynasties and races are confounded, in order to form an unbroken series of kings: but it is possible that some of the synchronisms between Persian and Indian heroes may be derived from traditionary poems or some ancient records, now unknown.

The value of the work commences from the Muhammedan period, the history of which he has compiled from the best sources available.

The author states in his preface that he is indebted for his materials to thirty-five different Histories, but he has quoted in the body of his work several more, besides those he has enumerated, and such conscientious and excellent use has he made of his predecessors, so entirely has he exhausted all the prominent facts mentioned by them, that they have been rendered almost useless to any but the most anxious and attentive student of Indian History, who may hope here and there to glean something of interest which Ferishta may have overlooked. Hence it is with great difficulty that any MSS. of those authorities are now procurable. He is also free from prejudice

and partiality; he does not even flatter the prince in whose reign he lived; and though not entirely without sectarian bitterness when noticing Saiyids, and though not exempt from Muhammedan bigotry, when speaking of the wholesale massacres of the defenceless Hindús, he is more divested of that feeling than any other author of his own religious creed, who recounts similar atrocities.

Dow, indeed, has observed of him, that "he seems as much divested of religious prejudices, as he is of political flattery or fear. He never passes a good action without conferring upon it its own reward of praise, nor a bad one, let the villainous actor be never so high, without stigmatizing it with infamy."* But some of the few extracts which follow will show that this indiscriminate praise requires to be received with some qualification.

This History is styled by the author himself Gulshan-i-Ibráhímí and Nawrasnáma. The former name is derived from the king to whom it was dedicated, and hence it is frequently quoted under the name of Táríkh-i-Ibráhímí. The latter name was given to it in commemoration of the new Capital, Nauras, which his patron, Ibráhím Ádil Sháh, commenced building in the year 1599.

Ferishta presented the first draught of his history to Ibráhím Ádil Sháh in A. D. 1606, but it is evident that during the rest of his life he was engaged in revising it, and even

* *History of Hindustan*, Preface, p. vii.

adding whole chapters, where it was deficient. It is supposed by General Briggs that, as the existence of Portuguese factories at Surat in A. D. 1611, is one of the last things mentioned, he completed the work about that period, and shortly after died; but he enters into a detailed description of Asír in A. D. 1614-15,* and there seems even reason to suppose that he mentions an event of a date even ten years subsequent to that.†

The first and second Books, giving an account of the Dehli Emperors down to Akber, was translated by Col. A. Dow in 1768, in such a manner as to make Gibbon, with his usual critical sagacity, suspect, that through some odd fatality the style of Ferishta had been improved by that of Ossian, and complain of its not being "easy in his florid text, to distinguish the version and the original."‡ Of his own work, Dow says: "The translator, being sensible of the impropriety of poetical diction in the grave narration of historical facts, has in many places clipped the wings of Ferishta's turgid expressions, and reduced his metaphors into common language, without, however, swerving in the least from the original meaning of the author."§

But he has so interwoven his own remarks with those of the author, that it is sometimes difficult to separate them, and in such a manner

* *Ferishta*, Lith. Text, Vol. II. p. 567.
† *Ibid*, Vol. II. p. 568.
‡ *Decline and Fall*, Vol. X. pp. 319, 339.
§ *History of Hindostan*, Preface, p. ix.

too as sometimes to convey an entirely different meaning from that which Ferishta intended. His orthography is exceedingly loose and inaccurate, and some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood.

In favor of Dow, it is to be remembered, that this was one of the first works translated by an Englishman into Persian, that its publication gave an impulse to the study of that language, that the means of acquiring a full knowledge of it were difficult, and that the florid diction was occasionally used to gloss and embellish an imperfect comprehension of the original. In his third volume he leaves Ferishta, and abstracts several histories of a later period.

In 1786, Mr. Anderson published in the *Asiatic Miscellany* the text and translation of the eleventh Book. The History of the Deccan has been well translated by Captain Jonathan Scott, but not with such exactness as to merit the reputation he has acquired. His work was published at Shrewsbury in two volumes, 4to. in 1794, and has been republished in London in 4to. and 8vo. The first is devoted to Ferishta. The second contains the annals of Aurangzebe's reign, and an account of the decline of the monarchy, which will be more particularly noticed hereafter, in the third volume. The names of Ferishta and his translator have been most amusingly combined by M. de la Richarderie into *Jonathan Schof Heristal.**

* *Biblioth. des Voyages*, Tom. V. p. 76.

But the translation of the entire work by General Briggs, in 4 Vols. 8vo. 1829, has thrown others into the shade, and is by far the most valuable store-house of facts connected with the Muhammedan Dynasties of India, which is accessible to the English reader. He has added also some valuable Appendices, and filled up some of the histories deficient in the original. As the author says that he had failed in procuring any written accounts of the Kutb-sháhí, Imád-sháhí and Berid-sháhí Dynasties, the translator has supplied an Appendix to the history of the kings of Golconda, which extends to 147 pages. He has given also a chronological epitome of the wars of the Portuguese in India, as connected with the history of the Deccan, tables of comparative chronology, an alphabetical list of the proper names, titles, and oriental words, with explanations attached, an alphabetical list of names of countries, mountains, rivers, and towns, and interspersed several valuable notes throughout the work.

He has, however, omitted the history of the Saints of Hindústán, forming the twelfth Book of the original, which, though containing little historical information, gives a good idea of the general sentiments, legends, and superstitions current in India, respecting the doctrines, studies, penances, miracles, and follies of the Saints of the Indian Calendar. Some of them indeed, have played no inconsiderable part in the history of their respective periods by their counsels and by the spiritual influence they exercised

over the princes, who were their obedient disciples or devoted admirers.

There are, also, other omissions of a more important character. A few passages have been taken from the single reign of Fíroz Sháh, to illustrate the difference which is found to prevail between the translation and the original. It arises, partly, from his having sometimes followed Scott and Dow without alteration, but, chiefly, from his having used one of the early editions of A. H. 1020, for translation, and not having availed himself of the many additions which were made by the author up to the latest period of his life. If a new edition of the first translation would not be too arduous a task for the accomplished translator, a supplementary volume of additions and corrections, derived from the lithographed text, would be very desirable; for though they may be of no importance to the general reader, they are essential to be known to the scholar, for the purpose of critical enquiry, and to enable him to dispense altogether with the original, which, with the present translation, admirable as it is in other respects, he cannot do. Some of the additional passages in these few Extracts contain relations of facts, and names of men, titles, and places, which are of no inconsiderable importance to the correct understanding of Indian history.

The translation of General Briggs has been reviewed in the Vienna *Jahrbücher*, by J. Von

Hammer.* The review is somewhat uncandid, for it takes little notice of the merits of the work, and confines itself principally to censures upon its "monstrous orthography and erroneous calculation of dates." Of the latter, he adduces several, which certainly evince a want of care, or, what is more probable, the use of a set of incorrect tables; but of the former the system is not by any means so faulty, as to deserve the epithet of "monstrous." The translator explains his own system in the Preface, and he has adhered to it closely. It is far superior to any which had hitherto been used for a work of equal extent. Every name is so written as to show that the translator knew how the original was spelt, which certainly cannot be said for Dow, or for most Oriental translators, —so written, as to enable any scholar to write the original word correctly,—and so written, moreover, as not to mislead the ignorant reader as to the correct pronunciation. It is to be remembered, also, that the translation was meant for Englishmen, and that any Englishman not versed in Oriental Literature would run less chance of error in pronouncing the words written in this translation, than he would in pronouncing words written according to the most systematic method, adapted to please the eyes of critics and scholars.

If we take some of the words selected by the reviewer, many of them marked as monstrous

* *Jahrbücher*, No. li. pp. 36—58.

with notes of admiration, we shall be able to judge of the propriety of his strictures. For *Kutbeddin*, says the reviewer, the translator writes Kootb-ood-deen! For *Alaeddin*, Alla-ood-deen! For *Ghaiaseddin*, Gheias-ood-deen! For *Mesud*, Masaood. For *Ibek*, Eibuk. For *Dikhen*, Deccan. For *Gudschurat*, Guzerat. For *Dschihangir*, Jehangir. For *Abu-nassr*, Aboo-nusr. For *Terdschumet Jemini*, Turjooma Yemnii.

These are taken from two pages* only, the italics representing the reviewer's system: and, really, to people who have ears and eyes, setting aside whether they are Englishmen or not, the reviewer's corrections show to little advantage. Where we have *dsch* to represent *j*, no one can complain if we have *oo* to represent *u*, or *e*,—as the reviewer writes it, with decided incorrectness; or *ma* for *met*, which though perhaps correct in writing, is most certainly incorrect in pronunciation. These petty cavillings are unworthy of one of the most distinguished Orientalists of the Continent, but they are not confined to our translator—the profoundest scholars of the world have not escaped his critical reprehensions, which he sometimes lavishes with a most unsparing hand, and very often on the most trifling lapses of spelling, version, or punctuation.

If any one wishes to see more on this subject, let him consult the "many hundred proofs of

* *Jahrbücher*, No. li. pp. 38, 39.

the reviewer's own gross ignorance" by Diez,* and read the two and twenty illustrious names, adduced by Fallmerayer, which our critic has "handled with remarkable severity."†

The translation has also been reviewed by M. Jules Mohl, but in an impartial and critical spirit, and in a series of articles replete with information on the subjects discussed in them. His biography of Ferishta is the fullest and most correct which we have, being derived not from the translation, but the original subsequently lithographed at Bombay, to which he has devoted the chief portion of his able review.

While he gives their due meed of credit to all the translators, he very fairly exposes the defects in each of them, and shows how worthy he himself is to undertake a faithful translation of the whole work.‡

EXTRACTS.

Mahmud having thus settled his affairs in India, returned in the autumn to Ghizny, where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year A. H. 399—A. D. 1008—he determined again to attack Anundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Dawood, during the late defection in Multan. Anundpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rajas of Ujein, Gwaliar, Kalunjar, Canauj, Dehli, and Ajmir, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards Panjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on a plain, on the confines of the province of Peshawur, where they remained encamped forty days

* *Unfug and Betrug in der morgenländischen Litteratur nebst vielen hundert Proben von der groben Unwissenheit*, &c. &c. Halle und Berlin, 1815.

† *Gelehrte Anzeigen*, Vol. IX. Coll. 531, 532.

‡ *Journal des Savants*, 1840. pp. 212—226, 354—372, 392—403.

without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindu females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs, and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahomedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp.

Mahmud, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahomedan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahomedans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till, on a sudden, the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naptha balls,* and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. Abdulla Taee, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arslan Jazib, with 10,000 Turks, Afghans, and Khiljis pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindus were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, 30 elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the king.

* * * * * *

When Param Deo, and the Raja of Ajmir, and others, had assembled a large army and taken possession of the roads, in order to oppose the Sultan, the latter found it impracticable to face them, and therefore marched to Multan by way of Sind. On his journey thither, owing to the scarcity of forage at some places, and of water at others, his army experienced great trouble and distress. It was with considerable difficulty he at length reached Ghizny in the year 417, A. H. It is said that when the Sultan was proceeding to Multan through the deserts of Sind, he gave orders to procure a guide to conduct him on his journey. A Hindu offered his services, but treacherously led the army through a path, which brought them to a place where no water could be procnred. When the army had passed on for a whole day and night, and found no water at any place, they were sore set, and every thing wore the appearance of the horrors of the day of judgment. The Sultan then asked his guide the reason why he had brought them to such a fearful pass: the Hindu replied, that he was a worshipper of Somnath, and had conducted the king and his army to the desert, with a view to their destruc-

* See Note H.

tion. The Sultan being exceeding wrath, ordered his men to put the Hindu to death.

On that very night the Sultan retired from his camp to a neighbouring spot, and prostrating himself on the earth, offered up prayers, mingled with lamentations, to Almighty God, imploring deliverance from the danger in which he was placed.

After the first watch of the night had elapsed, a light was seen towards the north. The army, according to the Sultan's command, directed their march towards the light, and by the morning found themselves in safety on the borders of a lake. Thus the piety of the Sultan rescued him from the brink of destruction.

* * * * * *

It is mentioned in the Jama-ool-Hikaiat that when the Sultan on one occasion saw an idol in a Hindu temple poised in the air without any support, he was much surprized at the sight, and enquired of the philosophers of the times the cause of the phenomenon. They answered that the roof and walls of the building were entirely made of magnet, and that the idol, which was made of iron, being equally attracted from the different points of the magnetic edifice, was thus naturally suspended in the middle of it. On one of the walls being destroyed by the orders of the Sultan, the idol fell to the ground.

* * * * * *

At* the time of the death of Mahomed Toghluk, his cousin, *Malik* Feroze *Bárbek*, nephew of Gheiasu-ood-deen Toghluk, was in the camp. Mahomed Toghluk having a great affection for him, *inasmuch as he had paid the most devoted attention to the king during his illness*, proposed making him his successor, and accordingly recommended him as such on his death-bed to his nobles. On the king's demise, the army fell into the utmost disorder; to remedy which, Feroze gained over the majority of the Indian chiefs to his party, and prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries to remove to some distance from the camp, till he should be able to compose the differences which existed in the army. [*Malik Firoz Bárbek thought it expedient, with reference to Altún Bahádar and the nobles who had come from Amír Kazghan as auxiliaries, to bestow dignities and honorary dresses upon them, according to their respective ranks, and to give them their dismissal, remarking that it was not improbable, that dissensions might arise between them and the soldiers of Hindústán, which would lead to disturbances, and therefore that it was better, before he marched, that they should break up their camp and depart. Altún Bahádar concurred in the propriety of this recommendation, and immediately striking his camp, pitched it at a distance of ten miles.*] Amír Nowroze *Kurkín*, the Mogul

* In the five passages which follow from the reign of Firoz Tughlak, the Italics represent the additions which are to be found in the lithographed edition.

chief who commanded the troops of his nation in the army, *son-in-law of Turmesherín Khán, who in the time of Muhammed Tughlak Sháh had come to India, and been enrolled among the chief nobles of the land, now acting a most ungrateful part,* quitted the camp on the same night, and joined Altoon Tash, the leader of the auxiliary troops, to whom he suggested that *the king of Hindustan was dead, that the army was without a leader and totally disorganized,* that the time was favorable for them, *and that it was their business as soldiers,* to plunder the late king's treasure *on its march the next day,* and then to retreat to their native country *with all the money and jewels they could possess themselves of.* Altoon Tash being persuaded to enter into this scheme, the Moguls returned next morning to the camp, which was still in disorder, [*to the army which was moving on like a caravan, without a guide, and without system or arrangement*] and after a sharp skirmish, loaded several camels with treasure [*plundering several treasure-chests which were laden upon camels*], *took captive many children of both sexes, and were not sparing in their pillage.* In order to secure himself from further depredation, Ferozè [*the Umrás of Sultán Muhammed, oppressed with a thousand fears and alarms,*] led the army to Sevustan, commonly called Sehwan, and *during the night* took every possible precaution to defend himself [*themselves,*] against the Moguls, *and thought rest and sleep a forbidden indulgence.* Meanwhile the officers of his army, *Makhdúm-záda Abbási Sheikh-u-Sheiyúk, Násira-u-dín Mahmúd, and Uddhí, better known as Chirágh Dehli, and otherwise and holy men, grandees and chiefs, all with one accord* having waited on *Malik* Feroze *Bárbek, represented that the late king had constituted him his successor, and that no other nobleman was more worthy of the honor, and* entreated him *not to reject the cares of state, but* to ascend the throne, to which, after some hesitation, *and declaring that he would proceed on a pilgrimage to the two holy cities and Hejúz, when he could no longer resist their importunities,* he gave his assent, and was accordingly proclaimed king *on the twenty-third of Muharram, after he had passed through more than fifty stages of his illustrious life.* On the same day he gave orders to ransom the prisoners, who during the late disorders had fallen into the hands of the turbulent people of Tutta, *and the Moghuls,* and on the third day he marched against the *rebellious people of Tutta and the* Mogul auxiliaries, whom he defeated, [*that he might take any of them prisoners wherever they might be found, or that he might slay them,*] and took many of their chiefs prisoners [*in short, many of the Moghul chiefs were seized and put to death.*] *Amír Nauroz Kurkín and Altún Bahádar, seeing no further advantage in delay, hastened to their own country with the utmost precipitation, and even the people of Tutta who had proceeded to the greatest extremities in their insubordination*

*and rebellion, placed their feet within the boundary of allegiance. The accession of Sultán Fíroz Sháh was hailed as a blessing by the people, and they prayed for his health and wealth with all earnestness. Shortly after, he marched by uninterrupted stages from Sewastán to the fort of Bhakar.**

* * * * * *

In the year A. H. 754—A. D. 1353,—the king, having hunted at Kallanore, *at the foot of the hills*, caused, *on his return*, a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal of the same year, he appointed Khan-Jehan to the charge of Dehli, *with unlimited powers*, and himself marched *with a large army* towards Luknowty to subdue Haji Elias. This chief had assumed royal honors and the title of Shumsood-deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the king's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. [*Udí Sing, Mukaddam of that place, came to pay his respects, and presented a suitable offering in money, together with two elephants, and was received with distinguished favour; and the Rái of Gorakhpúr also paid up the arrears of tribute which had accumulated for several years, and both of them accompanied the king on his march.*]

* The following is Dow's translation:—

"When the death of Mahommed happened, his cousin Feroze was in the imperial camp. He was nephew to the emperor Tughlick; and Mahommed having conceived great friendship for him, designed to make him his successor, and, for that purpose, recommended him upon his death-bed to the Omrahs. Upon Mahommed's demise, the army fell into the utmost confusion. Feroze, having gained over the majority of the Omrahs to the party, prevailed, with presents, upon the Mogul mercenaries to move to some distance from the camp to prevent disturbances, till he should reduce the rest of the army to obedience. Amir Norose, a Mogul chief, who commanded a great body of the imperial troops, deserted that night, and, having joined Altu, the general of the Mogul mercenaries, told him, that now was the time to plunder the late emperor's treasure, and to retreat to their native country. Altu was easily prevailed upon to adopt this lucrative scheme. They therefore returned next morning to the camp, which was still in very great confusion, and after a very sharp skirmish, loaded some camels with treasure. Feroze, to secure himself from further depredations, led the army to Sewan, and took every possible means to defend himself against the avarice of the mercenaries. The Omrahs, the day after this movement, waited upon Feroze, and entreated him to mount the throne. After many pretended excuses, he favored the Omrahs with his consent, and was accordingly proclaimed Emperor.

He, the very first day of his reign, gave orders to ransom many prisoners, who during the late confusion, had fallen into the hands of the people of Tatta; and upon the third day, he marched against the Mogul mercenaries, took many of their chiefs prisoners, and forced the rest to fly towards their own country."

The king then penetrated as far as Bundwa, one of the stations of Haji Elias, [*the established residence of the ruler of Bengal*] and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, *which is a place of exceeding strength, with the river on one side, and jungle on the other.* The king *left Bandwa without molesting the inhabitants,* and pursuing him *to Ekdála,* arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ul-Awul. An action ensued on the same day; but Haji Elias having entrenched his position very strongly, reduced the king to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir, Feroze, intending to change his ground, *as the camp had become offensive,* and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the king's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards, *as well as the royal canopy, and state equipages,* fell into the king's hands. *Many of the foot-soldiers were slain, and many taken prisoners. The next day, the Sultán encamped on the field of battle, and gave orders that the captives of Lakhnautí should be released.* The rainy season soon after came on with great violence, *as it always does in the province of Bengál, and the Sultán observed, that as he had gained a victory, and captured the emblems of royalty, he would depart, and return in the following year.* Shortly after peace was concluded; and the king returned to Dehli, [without effecting his object.]

In the year 755, Feroze built the city of Ferozabad, *on the banks of the river Jún,* adjoining that of Dehli, and on the 12th of Shaban he marched *on a hunting expedition* to Depalpoor, and constructed a *large* canal 48 coss in length, from the Sutlej to the Kugur. In the year 757 he constructed another canal, between [*from*] the hills of Mundir and Surmore from the Jumna, into which he led seven other minor streams, which all uniting, ran in one channel through Hansy, and from thence to Raiseen, [*Absín*] where he built a strong fort, which he called Hissar Feroze. *Below the fort, near the palace, he excavated a lake, which he filled from the waters of the canal.* He also conveyed an aqueduct [*a canal*] from the Kugur, over the river [*which passing by the fort of*] Sursutty, to the village of Perí Kehra, [*entered the stream of Sirkhatra,*] where he founded a city, named after him, Ferozabad. At the same time he introduced another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake he caused to be constructed at Hissar Feroze. In the month of Zeehuj an honorary dress, and a letter of congratulation on his accession, [*diploma*] were presented from Abool Futteh Aboo-Bukr Aby-Rubeea Sooliman *Abbasi* Caliph of Egypt, *signifying that he had conferred on him the countries of Hindústán, and conveying a recommenda-*

tion in behalf of the Bahmanía kings of the Deccan. In the same month also, he received an embassy, *which brought many splendid and rare presents,* with fresh proposals of peace, *from Háji Ilyás, entitled Shamsu-d-dín Sháh,* from *Lakhnauti and* Bengal, which Feroze accepted, and soon after ratified, *and then dismissed the ambassadors with honors and distinction.**

* * * * * *

From thence the king marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow [*they brought him some ice.*] *The king said, "At the time my late liege-lord, Sultán Muhammed Tughlak Sháh arrived here, and they brought him iced sherbet for his beverage, he refused*

* "In the year 754, the Emperor hunted at Callanore. He ordered upon his return, a palace to be built upon the banks of the Sursuti; and towards the end of the year appointed one Jehan to the viceroyship of Dehli. He himself in the meantime marched towards Bengal to subdue Elias, who had assumed the imperial title, and possessed himself of all Bengal and Behar, even to Benares. When he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the Zemindars of that place, having brought proper presents, were admitted to his presence. Feroze having penetrated as far as Puńdha, one of the residences of the princes of Bengal, Elias retreated to a strong post, whither the emperor pursued him. An action ensued, but Elias secured himself in his post, which obliged the emperor to surround him, the place being almost inaccessible. Things having continued in this situation for twenty days, Feroze, intending to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, advanced out of their post, and drew up in order of battle. But when they saw that the emperor was preparing to attack them they again retreated within their works, but with such precipitation and confusion, that forty-four elephants, and many standards fell into the emperor's hands. The rainy season coming on with great violence, a kind of peace was patched up between them, and the emperor returned disappointed to Dehli.

In the year 755, Feroze built the city of Ferozeabad adjoining to that of Dehli: and in the following year marched to Debalpoor, where he made a canal one hundred miles in length, from the Suttuluz to the Jidger. In the year 757, between the hills of Mendouli and Sirmore, he cut a channel from the Jumna, which he divided into seven streams; one of which he brought to Hassi, and from thence to Beraisen, where he built a strong castle, calling it by his own name. He drew soon after, a canal from the Cagar, passing by the walls of Sursutti, and joined it to the rivulet of Kera, upon which he built a city named after him, Ferozeabad. This city he watered with another canal from the Jumna. These public works were of prodigious advantage to the adjacent countries, by supplying them with water for their lands, and with a commodious water-carriage from place to place.

An embassy about this time arrived with presents and new conditions of peace from Bengal, which Feroze accepted, and soon after ratified the treaty."—*Dow.*

to take it, because I was not with him to partake of it." He then gave orders that some elephant and camel-loads of sugar, which were in camp, should be converted into sherbet and iced, and distributed throughout the whole army, in memory of Sultán Muhammed Tughlak Sháh. The Raja of Nagrakote, after sustaining some loss, submitted, but was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagrakote was, on this occasion, changed to that of Mahomedabad, in honor of the late king. The people of Nagrakote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them, [*which the Brahmins had made at the time that conqueror was in these parts, and placed within their temple, and that now that image was the idol of the people of this country.*] The name by which it was then known was Jwalamooky. In this temple was a fine library of Hindee books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered [*sent for some of the wise men of that religion, and ordered some of the books to be translated, and especially directed*] one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose [*verse*] in the Persian language, by *one of the celebrated poets of that period,* Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany, and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahee. *It is in truth a book replete with various kinds of knowledge, both practical and theoretical.* Some historians state, that *Sultán* Feroze *Sháh Bárbek* on this occasion broke the idols of Nagrakote, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Brahmins, who were then paraded through the camp.*

* * * * * *

In the year 774, the Wizier Mullik Mokbil [*Makbúl,*] entitled Khan Jehan, died, and his *eldest* son, Joona Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. The following year was marked by the death

* "The emperor, having finished this great work, built a fort at Sirhind, which he called Ferozepoor. He, from that place, marched towards the mountains of Nagracut, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow. He, however, reduced the Raja of those parts, after sustaining some loss on his side, and confirmed him again in his dominions, changing the name of Nagracut to that of the city of Mahommed, in honour of the former emperor. Feroze was told here that the goddess whom the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagracut, was the image of Noshaba, the wife of the great Sekundur, which that conqueror had left with them. The name of the idol is now changed to that of Jewallamucki. In the temple there was also at that time a fine library of the books of the Brahmins, consisting of one thousand and three hundred volumes. Feroze ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into the Persian language, and called it the Arguments of Feroze."—*Dow.*

of Zuffur Khan, Governor of Guzerat, who was succeeded *in his office and titles,* by his *eldest* son, Duria Khan. During the next year, *on the 12th of Safar,* the king was plunged into affliction by the death of his favorite son, Futteh Khan, a prince of great promise, *and the back of his strength was bent by the burden of grief. Finding no remedy, except in patience and resignation, he buried him in his own garden, and performed the customary ceremonies upon the occasion. On account of the excess of his grief, the shadow of his regard was withdrawn from the cares of state, and he abandoned himself entirely to his sorrows. His nobles and counsellors placed their heads on the ground, and represented, that there was no course left but to submit to the divine will, and that he should not show further repugnance to administer the affairs of his kingdom. The wise king acceded to the supplications of his friends and well-wishers, and, in order to dispel his sorrows, devoted himself to sport, and in the vicinity of new Dehli, he built a wall of two or three parasangs in circumference, planted within the enclosure shady trees, and converted it into a hunting park. The ruins of it remain to this day.**

* * * * * *

As he could gain no information of Kurgoo himself, *who remained concealed amongst the ravines and precipices of the hill-country of Kamáún, eluding pursuit like so much quicksilver, and no one knew whether he was dead or alive, and as the rainy season was approaching, the standards resplendent with victories returned to the camp whence they set out.* The king appointed one Mullik Dawood, an Affghan, *whom he exalted to a very high rank,* with a body of troops, to remain at Sumbhul, with orders to invade the country of Kutehr every year, *to commit every kind of ravage and devastation,* and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The king himself also, under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction *until the year* 787, to see that his orders were fulfilled, *and to do what Malik Dáúd had left undone;* and for six years not an inhabitant was to be seen in that district, nor was *a single jarib of* the land cultivated. *Not a soul slept at night in his hut, and several thousands of Hindús were slaughtered to avenge the death of those three Saiyids. In the above-mentioned year he built an exceedingly strong fortress in Bisauli, seven coss from Badáún, and called it Fírozpúr; but the common people, jocose amid all the oppression they had suffered, called it Ákhirínpúr, (the last city); and, in truth, it happened as they predicted, for the grace of God did not suffer him to construct any more forts, or to lay the foundations of new*

* "In the year 774,, Jehan the vizier died, and his son was honored with his titles. Nothing remarkable happened till two years after, when the emperor was plunged into affliction, by the death of his favorite son Fatte, a prince of great expectations."—*Dow.*

*cities and towns, and consequently the fortress continued to be called Á'khirínpúr.**

* * * * * *

The Raja of Beejanuggar, notwithstanding his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry, besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Mahomed Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindoos, immediately marched against them, leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp; and the alarm being given, so great was the consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adony, leaving every thing behind them. Mahomed Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, two thousand elephants, three hundred gun-carriages and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian horses, and a sing'hasun set with jewels, were included in the booty of the king,—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Mahomed Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Moodkul, and being reinforced by Khan Mahomed from Dowlutabad, marched against the infidels in Adony, on the plains of which place, near the Toongbudra, the Raja of Beejanuggur had taken up his station, having given the command of Adony to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed.

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At this time, a favorite remarked to the king, "that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not to

* "The emperor enraged at this villainy, marched immediately that way, and took severe vengeance upon the associates and kindred of the assassin, putting them without distinction to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Cumaoon, and was protected by the Indian princes of those parts. Feroze ordered a detachment of his army against them. They brought back near thirty thousand of those unhappy mountaineers, who were all condemned to slavery. The emperor's justice in this case degenerated into extreme severity. Neither did the misfortunes brought upon those miserable captives satisfy his thirst for revenge. He returned every year, under pretence of hunting, to that unhappy country; but the people, and not the beasts of the forest, were his prey. He by degrees cut off all the inhabitants, and converted whole provinces into a wilderness."—*Dow.*

destroy their race altogether." The king replied, "that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects." To this the Ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant. Mahomed Shah then said, "Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been performed. I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of history."

The Ambassadors, seeing the king pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words. Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and children: if Krishn Ray had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessary to his errors. Mahomed Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them. The Ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles. Mahomed Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct. From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects. Mahomed Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Koolburga, visiting on his way Sheikh Siraj-ood-deen, to whose prayers as well as to the charities sent to Mecca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindoos.

* * * * * *.

Mahomed Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words

"All is vanity"

were engraved by his orders on his tomb. Happy the king who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain! He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues.

According to the Siraj-ool-Towareekh, so much treasure and such numbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty. He had three thousand male and female elephants; and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand. The sums of gold accumulated by him according to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a

full half. No prince before him ever so far reduced the Rajas and Zemindars of the Carnatic, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years; and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages. Mahomed Shah reigned seventeen years.

* * * * * *

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country, and wherever he went, put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the Rays of Beejanuggur. Wherever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the Brahmins. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the king as the author of all their sufferings.

* * * * * *

In the year 829, Ahmud Shah marched to reduce a rebellious Zemindar of Mahoor, who still retained several strong places which held out against his troops. The rebel soon submitted; but Ahmud Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children to embrace the true faith. During this campaign, the king obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwana, in which territory he rased many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some tracts of land to maintain holy men and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes.

* * * * * *

All aood-Deen Shah, upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men. Therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindoos in revenge for the death of a single Mussulman, he swore, should Dew Raj take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindoos.

* * * * * *

To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he drank wine himself, he forbade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gaming. He put chains on the necks of Kullendurs, and idle, dissipated vagabonds,

whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform, and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender.

* * * * * *

On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended, with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun) Kurra Khan Khoord and Ahmud Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sher-ool-moolk, rushed upon them, and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant four thousand Deccanies outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy, they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hoossein, the Syuds were never so maltreated; but is it not astonishing, that men who called themselves servants of the Prophet, should so basely misuse his descendants?

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Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the king's chouk, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The king, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the king's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill-treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the king, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak and the tyrant Hijaj. About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death; some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchets, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy

happened in the month of Shaban, in the same year as the rebellion.

The author of the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the king's first hearing of the escape of the Prince Hussan Khan, rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hussun Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicions rest here; many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Hoomayoon threw off all restraint, and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

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About sunset, the gates were burned; but the quantity of hot ashes yet glowing prevented any one passing in or out till midnight, when Mirza Khan and his friends rushed from the citadel, and tried to make their escape. Numbers of others were slain in the attempt by the populace, but Mirza Khan having effected his retreat, fled towards the fort of Joonere. The Deccany troops, the Abyssinians, and the mob, having entered the fort, put to death every foreigner they found within, amounting to nearly three hundred, among whom were several persons of high rank and eminent character. Their bodies were dragged out on the open plain, and orders given that they should lie unburied. Not content with the past slaughter, Jumal Khan commanded his adherents to murder the foreigners of every rank and occupation in the city, and to plunder and burn their dwellings. The soldiers and their followers, being once let loose, put to death indiscriminately the noble, the master, the servant, the merchant, the pilgrim, and the travelling stranger. Their houses were set on fire, and the heads of those lately exalted to the skies were brought low, and trampled in the dust; while the very females, who from modesty concealed their faces from the sun and moon, were dragged by the hair into the assemblages of the drunken. On the fourth day, Mirza Khan, who had been seized near Joonere, was brought to Jumal Khan, and being first carried through the city on an ass, his body was hewn in pieces, which were affixed on different buildings. Several of his friends taken with him were also put to death, and their bodies being rammed into cannon, were blown into the air. In the space

of seven days, nearly a thousand foreigners were murdered; some few only escaping under the protection of Deccany or Abyssinian officers. The reign of Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah lasted only ten months and three days. Among those princes recorded in history as murderers of their fathers, we find none whose reigns extended beyond one year; and a poet observes, "Royalty befitteth not the destroyer of a parent, nor will the reign of such a wretch be long."

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Beny Ray having recovered from his wounds, the king used every effort to persuade both him and his minister to embrace the Mahomedan faith. They, however, persisted in refusing, swearing that they preferred death to abjuring their religion. Mahmood Shah was in hopes of shaking their constancy by confining them separately, and treating them harshly. This conduct only tended to support their resolution, till at length the king, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death.

The history of Ferishta is universally known in India,—at least by name, and there are few large towns without a copy. If we add to these the works labelled "Naurasnáma" and "Táríkh-i-Ibráhímí," which few of the present ignorant generation know to be the same as Ferishta's history, we shall find that it is probably more common than any secular work of equal size in this country. There are several Manuscripts also of correctness and elegance, but all must yield the palm to the lithographed edition of 1831, which, like so many other Persian works printed at the Bombay Presidency, shames the lithographic press of this side of India.

We have no critical account of the Manuscripts used in collating this edition. To General Briggs, however, is due the merit of having prepared it for the press, though his absence pre-

vented his superintending its execution. All we learn of it from him is, that he "procured a copy of Ferishta in Persian, which contained several valuable annotations and corrections. This copy has since been carefully collated with several others, and a new and correct edition was left by me at Bombay in 1827 in order to be printed." He confesses himself indebted to Mír Khairát Alí Khán, commonly called Mushták, who assisted him in his labours, who had devoted his whole life to historical enquiries, and who travelled for several years successively through the Deccan, making copies of every Persian inscription on stone to be found in all the towns of note in that country.

It is strange that, notwithstanding the care bestowed by General Briggs on this work, his name nowhere appears as having any concern in it. It is without Preface, and without Title-page, but there is a fly leaf at the end of the second volume, informing us that the work was undertaken by order of Mr. Elphinstone, and executed by the care, and according to the arrangement, of Captain George Jervis; that the first volume was written by Mírzá Hasan of Shíráz, the second by Mírzá Hamzah of Mázenderán. M. Jules Mohl* exonerates Captain Jervis from the charge of taking credit to himself for the labours of others, inasmuch as that officer was at the Cape of Good Hope, at the time that the last sheets were passing through the

* *Journal des Savants*, Tom. IX. p. 402.

Press, but attributes blame to the Persian lithographer, who no doubt wished to ingratiate himself with his immediate master by this insinuating flattery.

On the arrival of the impressions in London, the General took care to add a fitting Title-page, which states that the work was "edited and collated from various Manuscript copies by Major-General John Briggs, assisted by Munshí Mír Khairát Alí Khán Mushták, of Akberábád."

There are other omissions which give us cause to regret that this edition was not more carefully lithographed under European superintendence. To be sure, the names of people and places are written with unusual, though not entire, accuracy; the addition of marginal dates is a great convenience, and the handwriting of the lithographers is clear and elegant; but we have no list of variants to enable us to judge of the propriety of the selected reading; we have not a single stop, or super-lineation, throughout the whole work; the rubrics, or large letters, are not properly contrasted; the stones have been corrected before impression, and not always with care; several dates in the text have been omitted from the margin; and the dates of the page-headings are carelessly noted—the year 854, for instance, is preserved throughout the 462 first pages of the second volume, although several ages and dynasties are embraced within that space.

The Vocabulary of difficult and obsolete words, which was promised, has not been included in the work. It would be worth while to supply the omission even now, by making a separate impression of this Appendix; for though the style of Ferishta is very pure and easy, he takes from other authors words which are not always to be found in our dictionaries, and which require explanation, only to be obtained by referring to the original passages where they occur.

The first words of Ferishta's History are:—

پیش وجود همه آیندگان　　پیش بقائي همه پایندگان
قافله سالار جهان قدم　　مرسله پیوند گلوي قلم
داغ نه ناصیه داران پاک　　تاج ده تخت نشینان خاک

چون برحکم کنت کنزا مخفیا بقلم قدرت ابداع برصحیفه احوال مصنوعات کشیده بدست عنایت شاهد نورس وجود را ازبند عدم آزاد گردانید نسیم جان بخش روح پرور ازچمن و نفخت فیه من روحي دراهتزاز آورده *

and the last words are:—

لیکن اولادش بطنا بعدبطن راجکي داشتند تا انکه رامراج نامی درسنه نهصد و هفتاد با حکام دکن جنگ نموده کشته شد و بعد ازان فرزندانش قوت بهم نرسانیدند درانملک ملوک طوایف بهم رسید و تتمه احوال راجهای انجا درطبقه دکن مذکور نموده ازین جهت درین جا بقلم در نیاورد برمطالعه کنندگان این کتاب هر طایفه وطبقه از ملوک دکن پرتو وضوح خواهد بخشید فقط

NOTE H.

On the early use of Gunpowder in India.

To the passage at p. 323, where it is said that the elephant of the Hindú prince became unruly from the effect of the naphtha balls, Major-General Briggs adds the following note:

"This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen; and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha,) and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A. D. 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war. It appears likely, also, that Baber was the first invader who introduced great guns into upper India, in 1526, so that the words tope and toofung have been, probably, introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are in general very faulty throughout. It is a remarkable fact that the words guns and muskets occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648, and it may therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber; the fact, however, appears impossible."

A confirmation of this reading of *tope* and *tufang* is given by Wilken, who observes, that the two copies which he consulted have the same words, and that even the *roar* of the cannon is spoken of. He considers it not improbable that Greek fire was used by Mahmúd. Dow boldly translates the word as *guns*.*

It does not appear on what authority Ferishta rests his statement. The Táríkh-i-Yemíní, the Jámiu-t-Tawáríkh of Rashíd-u-dín, the Táríkh-i-Guzída, Abú-l-fedá, the Tabakát-i-

* Wilken, *Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum*, p. 169.

Násirí, the Rauzatu-s-Safá, the Táríkh-i-Alfí, and the Tabakát-i-Akberí, though almost all of them notice this important engagement, in A. D. 1008, between the Hindús and Muhammedans, and mention the capture of 30 elephants, yet none of them speak of either *naft*, or *tope*.

But, ten years after this, we find express mention made of the use of naphtha in a naval action near Multán, between Mahmúd and the Jats of the Júd Hills. On this occasion Mahmúd built 1400 boats, each of which was armed with six iron spikes to prevent the enemy boarding, and in each were twenty archers and five naphtha-men, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla. The Jats opposed him in 4000 boats, but were completely defeated, many of their vessels being set on fire by the naphtha.

We may therefore conclude that, if any combustibles were used in the action near Pesháwar, they were composed of naphtha, and that it must be an error to read either *tope*, or *tufang* in the passage under consideration.

This probability is greatly increased by the fact that the country where both these transactions are recorded to have taken place abounds with naphtha. Near Mukeya Ghát, on the Indus, it oozes out from parts of the Khyssore range. The natives are ignorant of its commercial value, and use it only as a cure for sores on their camels' backs; and at Kohát, 30 miles from Pesháwar, it is also abundant.*

* Burnes' *Bokhara*, Vol. III. p. 259.

"Amír Khán sent into the mountains for some mineral liquor, which he told me was collected by dipping cotton into places where it oozed through the ground."*

At Narr Topa, near Khánpúr, there is a copious spring of asphaltum.†

Petroleum is found at Sabbí, south of the Indus. It exudes from the rocks, and floats on the surface of the water. The natives call it sulphur-oil, and burn it in their lamps, but do not seem to be aware of its medicinal properties.‡

In the Yúsufzei country, there is a basin situated to the east of Dhyr, where a fire has burned from time immemorial, and is at present maintained under a cupola in charge of a Guebrian woman.§

When Sikander, the Iconoclast, who subverted the Hindú religion in Cashmír, ordered all the places of worship throughout the kingdom to be razed, a temple to Jag Deo in the Punjhazára district, on being levelled with the ground, emitted from its foundations volumes of fire and smoke, which the Hindús declared to be an emblem of the wrath of the deity,—but which more sober enquiries may safely attribute to an asphaltine fire-pit.

Capt. A. Cunningham has gone further than this, and in his valuable paper on Arian Archi-

* Vigne's *Ghazni*, &c. p. 62.
† Capt. J. Abbott's *MS. Reports.*
‡ Dr. A. Fleming's *Report on the Salt Range*, in the *Journal A. S. Beng.* 1848.
§ M. Court, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VIII. p. 312.

tecture in the Asiatic Society's Journal, has considered that Sikander must have used gunpowder in the progress of his demolition. He observes:—

"Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at Wantipur, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, Trebeck* says: "It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of man, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt; earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow." I have quoted this passage to show the utter confusion that characterizes the ruins of the Avantipura temples. In my opinion their *overthrow* is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake, which would have simply *prostrated* the buildings in large masses. But the whole of the superstructure of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally disjointed from one another. I believe therefore that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and *disruptive overturn* could only have been produced by gunpowder. I have myself blown up a Fort, besides several buildings both of stone and of brick; and I have observed that the result has always been the entire *sundering* of all parts, one from another, and the capsizing or *bouleversement* of many of them. Neither of these effects can be produced by an earthquake. It seems also that Trebeck and Moorcroft would most likely have attributed their destruction to the same agency had they not believed that the use of gunpowder was unknown at that time: for, in speaking of a traditional attempt made by Shah Hamadan to destroy Martand, they say:—"It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder." I admit that this destructive agent was most probably unheard of in Kashmir so early as the reign of Shah Mir Shah of Hamadan: but the destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed both by history and by tradition to the bigoted Sikander, whose idol-breaking zeal procured him the title of *Butshikan* or "Ikonoklastes." He was reigning at the period of Timur's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents, and from whom I suppose that he may have received a present of the "villainous saltpetre." This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was as great an idol-breaker as Sikander himself. Gibbon, it is true, denies that either the Mogals or the Ottomans in 1402, were acquainted with gunpowder: but as he points out that the Turks had *metal* cannon at the siege of

* *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 245.

Constantinople in A. D. 1422,* I think it is no great stretch of probability to suppose that gunpowder itself had been carried into the East, even as far as Kashmir, at least ten or twenty years earlier, that is about A. D. 1400 to 1420, or certainly during the reign of Sikander, who died in 1416.

Even if this be not admitted, I still adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of the Avantipura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder, and I would then ascribe their overthrow to the bigoted Aurangzeb. Ferishta† attributes to Sikander the demolition of all the Kashmirian temples save one, which was dedicated to Mahadeva, and which only escaped "in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water." In A. D. 1380—90 however, Abul Fazl‡ mentions that some of the idolatrous temples were in "perfect preservation;" and Ferishta himself describes many of these edifices as being in existence in his own time, or about A. D. 1600.§ Besides, as several of them are still standing, although more or less injured, it is certain that Sikander could not have destroyed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should all be overturned; and I have no doubt that many of the principal temples were thrown down during his reign. For instance, the tomb of his own Queen in Srinagur is built upon the foundation, and with the materials of a Hindu temple; likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son Zein-ul Abidin was once the enclosure of, a Hindu temple, and lastly the entrance of a Masjid in Nowa-Shehra of Srinagur, which, according to its inscription, was built during the reign of his son Zein-ul Abidin, is formed of two fluted pillars of a Hindu peristyle. These instances prove that at least three different temples in the capital alone must have been overthrown either by Sikander or by one of his predecessors. But as the demolition of Idol temples is not attributed to any one of the earlier kings, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the three above mentioned to Sikander himself."

The points mooted in the preceding quotations invite us to a consideration of the general question respecting the invention and introduction of gunpowder. A work upon this subject which has lately been jointly published by M.

* *Decline and Fall*, Chap. 65. Note 93.
† Briggs, Vol. IV. p. 465.
‡ *Ayín-i-Akberí*, Vol. II. p. 124.
§ Briggs, Vol. IV. p. 445.

M. Reinaud and Favé, entitled *Histoire de l' Artillerie; du Feu Grégeois*, &c, Paris, 1845, has increased the interest of the enquiry, though, it must be confessed, there are many doubtful points which are left in almost as great uncertainty as before. It shows that among the Arabs of the thirteenth century many receipts were in use for the mixture of sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in different proportions; that there is strong reason for supposing that these were obtained originally from the Chinese, about the ninth century; that they improved their knowledge during the three following centuries; that they again derived more instruction on this subject, after the Moghul irruption of the thirteenth century; that as "China snow" and "China salt" are the names given by the oldest writers to saltpetre, its discovery originated with that nation; and that in the history of the Sang dynasty, as early as A D. 1259, there is distinct mention of a projectile by means of fire: for that in the first year of the period *Khaiking*, a kind of fire-arm was manufactured called "impetuous fire-dart;"—a nest of grains (case of chick-peas?) was introduced into a long tube of bamboo,* which, on being ignited, darted forth a violent flame, and instantly

* Hence is probably derived the name of *bamboo*, "vox a sono ficta," as in Βομβος, Bombarda, Bombanum, Bombe, and Bomb. The name is usually ascribed to the early Portuguese, who, on first burning this reed, were astonished at the noise occasioned by the expansion and escape of the air between the joints, and gave it a name significant of this peculiar property. Either way, it derives its name from its explosive faculties. There is perhaps the same sort of connection between the Hindí *Bán*, a rocket, and *Báns*, a bamboo.

the charge was projected with a noise like that of a *pao*, which was heard at about the distance of 150 paces.* There are, however, some anecdotes which militate against the probability of the Chinese being so early in possession of this destructive power; but there is no occasion to notice them here. These authors consider that Greek fire never became extinct, that it was gradually improved upon, till the name was lost, and that by progressive transitions it reached its maximum effect by conversion into gunpowder.

It is not intended, however, to introduce in this place a dissertation on a subject which has occupied so many able and discriminating pens. I will confine myself to a few remarks having special reference to India, and to some illustrations, most of which have not been noticed by authors who have entered upon this interesting enquiry.†

* *Du feu Grégeois*, p. 192. In the review of this work in Blackwood's Magazine, June, 1846, there is a ludicrous mis-translation of this passage, where it is said, "the nest of grains was projected with a noise, like to that of a *peacock*;" but the *pao* here mentioned is a warlike machine. Father Gaubil says, "Par le moyen de plusieurs *pao*, ou catapultes;" "Les Mangous se servirent alors de *pao* (ou canons) à feu;" "On avait dans la ville des *pao* à feu;" and in a note he adds, "Je n'ai pas osé traduire par *canon*, les caractères *pao*, et *ho-pao*; un de ces caractères a à côté le caractère *ché, pierre*, et c'était une machine à lancer des pierres. L'autre caractère est joint au caractère *ho, feu*, et je ne sais pas bien si c'était un canon comme les nôtres. De même, je n'oserais assûrer que les boulets dont il est parlé se jetaient comme on fait aujourd'hui."—*Histoire de Gentchiscan*, p. 69.

† Those who wish to ascertain what has been said upon this subject, may consult the following works and articles, which for the most part treat the question with copious reference to other authorities: M. L. Dutens, *Œuvres*, Tom. I. pp. 194—199. *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. I. pp. 132—137, 284—292. *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. XX. pp. 265—7. *Journal des Savants*, Feb. 1847, pp. 87—93. March, 1847, pp. 140—150,

When the Muhammedan connection with India first commenced, we find, according to the ancient and authentic historians, that the powerful engine, called Manjaník, was brought into use as a propelling machine.

It was a favorite implement with the Arabs, and was used by them in A. H. 9, when Muhammed besieged Táyif. But it was known to them much earlier; for Ibn Kotaibah says that it was first used by Jazymah, the second king of Hyrah, who flourished about A. D. 200. The Arabs ascribe its invention to the Devil, and say that he suggested it to Nimrod, when he persecuted Abraham. Whether the word be derived from Machina, or Manganum, the substitution of the soft *j* for the harsher consonant, and the circumstance that this warlike engine was first used in Hyrah, render it probable that the Arabs received the Manjaník from the Persians, and not directly from the Greeks.

Biládorí gives us the following account of Muhammed Kásim's proceedings at the port of Daibal, in A. H. 93—A. D. 711-12, in which the Manjaník plays an important part:—

April 1847, pp. 209—223. Wilkinson's *Engines of War*, pp. 44—70, 132—150. Beckmann, *History of Inventions*, 4th Ed. pp. 482—512, 533—539. M. Eusebe Salverte, *Philosophy of Magic*, translated by A. T. Thomson, M. D. Vol. II. pp. 197—242. Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv. Bombarda, Canones, Ignis Græcus, Muschetta, and the *Encyclopædias*, vv. Artillery, Cannon, Gunpowder, Greek-fire. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, Vol. I. p. 509—511. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Vol. X. pp. 14—18, Vol. XII. pp. 62—64. D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.* vv. Asious, Barud, Bondok.

فَخَنْدَقَ حِيْنَ نَزَلَ الدَّيْبَلَ فَرَكَزَتِ الرِّمَاحَ عَلَى الْخَنْدَقِ وَ نَشَرَتِ الْأَعْلَامَ وَ أَنْزَلَ النَّاسَ عَلَى رَايَاتِهِمْ وَنَصَبَ مَنْجَنِيقًا تَعْرِفُ بِالْعَرُوسِ كَانَ يَمُدُّ فِيهَا خَمْسُ مِائَةَ رَجُلٍ وَكَانَ بِالدَّيْبَلِ بَدٌ عَظِيمٌ عَلَيْهِ دَقَلٌ طَوِيلٌ وَعَلَى الدَّقَلِ رَايَةٌ حُمْرَاءُ

"[As soon as Muhammed Kásim] arrived it Daibal, he dug an entrenchment, and defended it with spearmen, and unfurled his standard; each band of warriors was arranged under its own standard, and he fixed the Manjaník, which was called "The Bride," and required the power of five hundred men to work it. There was at Daibal a lofty temple, surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red cloth, which when the breeze blew, was unfurled over the city."

Shortly afterwards he continues:—

فَوَرَدَ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ مِنَ الْحَجَّاجِ كِتَابٌ أَنْ أَنْصَبَ الْعَرُوسَ وَاقْصَرْ مِنْهَا قَائِمَةً وَلْتَكُنْ مِمَّا يَلِي الْمَشْرِقَ ثُمَّ ادْعُ صَاحِبَهَا فَمُرْهُ أَنْ يَقْصِدَ بِرَمْيَتِهِ لِلدَّقَلِ الَّذِي وَصَفْتَ لِي فَرَمَى الدَّقَلَ فَكَسَرَ فَاشْتَدَّ طُرَّةُ الْكُفْرِ مِنْ ذَلِكَ *

A letter came from Hajjáj to Muhammed to the following effect, "Fix the Manjaník and shorten its feet (foot), and place it on the east, you will then call the Manjaník-master, and tell him to aim at the flagstaff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken;—at which the Infidels were sore afflicted.

On the capture of the town, Biládorí continues to say, the carnage endured for three days, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Other authors say that Muhammed Kásim caused every Bráhmin, from the age of seventeen and upwards, to be put to death;

and that the young women and children of both sexes were retained in bondage.

Later writers, in speaking of this period, tell us distinctly that fiery projectiles were used in the capture of Alore, which fell shortly after Daibal. Mír Ma'súm Bhakarí, in his History of Sind, and Haidar Rází, in his General History, both in the same terms mention fire-playing machines, آتش بازي, "which the Arabs had seen in use with the Greeks and Persians;" and again, when Rájá Dáhir was mounted on an elephant, the Arabs took vessels filled with fire-works, حقهای آتش بازي, and threw them upon the seat, which was fixed on the back of the elephant; upon which the affrighted animal became ungovernable,* ran off, and, breaking the ranks of the Hindús, endeavored to throw itself into the river. This, if true, is the first account we have of the use by the Arabs of the incendiary preparations of the Greeks, which has hitherto not been dated earlier than from the siege of Jerusalem in A. D. 1099.

This is also related in the Chachnáma and Tohfatu-l-kirám;† but, in one of the best copies of the Chachnáma I have seen, while there is

* The alarm with which elephants view fire is frequently a marked feature of Indian warfare, and was never better exemplified than in the gallant night-sally of the Portuguese Governor of Damán upon the camp of Aurangzeb, when an army of forty thousand men was put to flight by the consternation of the elephants at the fireworks incessantly playing upon them. On this occasion, it is said, the Emperor came to a resolution never to attack Europeans any more.—*Voyage de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, P. II. p. 289.

† See *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, Vol. VII. p. 307, and Vol. X. p. 189.

mention of the catapulta called "The Bride," which required 500 men to work it, there is no mention of engines throwing fire. Dáhir's elephant is distinctly mentioned to have taken flight at an arrow of naphtha, which the Arab general ordered one of his strong naphtha-throwers to aim at the elephant-seat of Dáhir. (fol. 48 r. and 84 v.).

If we except the Chachnáma, these later testimonies are of little value against the silence of Biládorí, and we must reject the story of the projectiles, the حقهای آتش بازي, though we may admit on the authority of the Chachnáma that a naphtha-arrow was used. The place of action offers the same probability as to the use of such a weapon, as it does in the case of Mahmúd the Ghaznevide, mentioned above.

A few years later, we find one of Muhammed Kásim's successors using a battering ram.

وَغَزَى ٱلْجُنَيْدُ ٱلْكِيرَجَ وَكَانُوا قَدْ نَقَضُوا فَٱتَّخَذَ كَبَاشًا نَطَّاحَةً فَصَكَّ بِهَا حَائِطَ ٱلْمَدِينَةِ حَتَّى ثَلَمَهُ وَدَخَلَهَا عَنْوَةً فَقَتَلَ وَسَبَى وَغَنَمَ وَوَجَّهَ ٱلْعُمَّالَ إِلَى مَرْمَدَ وَٱلْمَبْدَلَ وَجَهْنَدَ وَبَرُوصَ *

And Jonaid fought against Kírej, which had revolted, and he took a battering ram with horns of great power, and demolished with it the walls of the city. He entered the breach, and slew, imprisoned and pillaged the inhabitants. He then sent his officers towards the Nermada, Mandavi? Jhand? and Baroach.

Passing over three centuries, we come to the period of Mahmúd, to which sufficient allusion has already been made.

Nearly two centuries after that, a little before A. D. 1200, we come to the Dynasty of the Ghorians, and though no mention is made by the Muhammedan writers of any incendiary preparations used in the wars between the Muhammedans and the Hindús, yet if we are to believe the contemporary Hindú Bard, Chand, we shall find even cannon-balls to be in use at that time.

But it appears to me evident that the passages where they are mentioned are spurious, and interpolated to accommodate the poem to the knowledge of subsequent ages.

In the 150th Chhand, or Stanza, of the Canauj-Khand, Tátár Khán says to Muhammed Ghorí, "Oh! chief of Gajní, buckle on your armour, and prepare your fire-machines." Another meaning may be given to the passage, which, however, would be forced and unnatural.

मिले सेन सुरितान दिश्रा श्रनेक दिव्य भर।
दिव्य पानि पद्धरी सु करि सावस्र पर॥
गहि कोदु सज्जि गज्जनि सुवर श्रातस चरित्र श्रनंत करि।
श्रावंत पंग सारध सयन मिलि मन थाप्पिय थानत्तरि॥
तव कहे साह साहाव श्रहो तातार षान सुनि।
षरा सान रुस्समा जमनभारूफ षान पुनि॥

A'tish is a Persian word, and *Káfir* and *Sultán*, used in the same stanza, are also of foreign stamp; though they no doubt were among the first words of Muhammedan extraction which were introduced into India. The use of *A'tish* renders the passage suspicious. In other respects

the verse in which it occurs does not bear the appearance of modern manufacture.

In the 257th stanza, it is said that, "The calivers and cannons made a loud report, when they were fired off, and the noise which issued from the ball was heard at a distance of ten coss."*

हप पंग नयर छूटे अराव।
कोटह कंगूर चढि चढि सिताव॥
जंवूर तोप छूटहि भनंकि।
दस कोस जाय गोला भनंकि॥
सिरदार भार वाराह रोह।
लंगो अभंग वर हनै कोह॥

The two lines in which this passage occurs are evidently a modern interpolation, and the lines which precede and follow them are of doubtful antiquity. The words used in the middle lines, though Hindí, seldom occur in ancient authors, and the introduction of *tope* is decisive as to the period of composition.

In the 416th Chhand, we have,—"the *Zambúr* lodged in his breast and he fainted away:—thus fell Ráí Govind, the strength of Delhi."

उद्यो हंकि कर भारिकै पैज जालं।
हन्यो चारि मीरं दुवाहं दुठालं॥
डर लग्गि जंवूर आरस्स थानं।
परयो राइ गोविंद दिल्ली भुजानं॥

* Froissart beats this with his marvellous Bombard at Audenarde, which made such a noise at night, even at the distance of ten leagues, that all the devils of hell could not exceed it.

"Et quand cette Bombarde decliquoit, on l'ouoit par jour bien de cinq lieues loing, et par nuit de dix, et menoit si grande noise au decliquer, que il sembloit que tous les diables d'enfer fussent au chemin." *Chronicle*, Tom. II. p. 214.

Zambúr is used in this and in the preceding extract. It is now usually applied to a camel-swivel. It used also to be applied to an arrow, and like *musquet*, *baston*, *bombarde*, and some other words, continued to signify an offensive weapon introduced under the new system of artillery, which followed the invention of gun-powder. The use of the word, therefore, is equivocal, and cannot be pronounced decidedly to mean a fire-arm; though, to be sure, if an arrow were meant, there was no occasion to resort to a foreign word. In other respects, the passage is not open to suspicion.

In A. D. 1258, we find the Wazír of the king of Dehli going out to meet an ambassador from Halákú, the grandson of Changez Khán, with 3000 carriages of fire-works.* The same word, *A'tishbází*, being applied to pyrotechnic displays, as well as artillery, leaves the meaning of the passage ambiguous.

In A. D. 1368, we have seen (at p. 331) Muhammed Sháh Bahmaní I. possessing himself, amongst other spoil, of 300 gun-carriages, upon which the translator of Ferishta observes in a note, as follows:

> If any reliance is to be placed on Moolla Daud Bidury the author of the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos, and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the west in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years

* *Ferishta*, Lith. Ed. Vol. I. p. 128.

previously by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observes, that Turks and Europeans skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza.

The testimony as to the skill of the natives in the use of fire-arms, upon the first arrival of the Portuguese, is somewhat contradictory. Maffei says that the Indians far excelled the Portuguese.* Another author, quoted by Bohlen, speaks of a certain Indian king being in the habit of placing several pieces of brass ordnance in front of his army.†

There is certain testimony to the use of cannon in Guzerát before the arrival of the Portuguese; which is easily accounted for by the constant communication at that time with the Turks of Egypt and Arabia. In A. D. 1482 Mahmúd Sháh I. of Guzerát is mentioned as fitting out a fleet against the pirates of Bulsar, on board of which he embarked gunners and musketeers from Cámbay. Two years after, we find him using cannon to breach the walls of Champanír, and even firing shells at the palace of the Rájá. It is curious that one of the first applications of gunpowder amongst Muhammedan Indians was in the manufacture

* Jamque Indici sclopi, seu ferreœ fistulæ et sulphureus pulvis longo intervallo Lusitanicis antecellunt.—*Histor : Indic :* p. 25.

† *Das alte Indien*, Vol. II. p. 63. Rex magnum numerum secum trahit tormentorum æneorum in prælium, quæ solet collocare in fronte exercitûs.—Hayus, *de rebus Indicis.* p. 698. This may be the same work as is quoted elsewhere as the *Historica Relatio*, Antwerp, 1605, —Bohlen, *ib.* Vol. I. p. 102. Vol. II. p. 69.

of shells. A few years later, Sher Sháh met his death by the explosion of one in his own batteries, when besieging Kálinjar.

Castanheda, in describing Vasco de Gama's entrance into Calicut in 1498, says, "The procession again set out, preceded by many trumpets and sacbuts sounding all the way; and one of the Nayres carried a *caliver*, which he fired off at intervals."*

Two years afterwards the Zamorin cannonaded the Portuguese vessels.†

In Castanheda's work, two Milanese lapidaries are said to have deserted, in 1503, to the Zamorin, for whom they offered to make ordnance, resembling that of the Portuguese, "which they afterwards did, as will appear in the sequel of this history, and for which service they were highly rewarded."‡

"This caymal had a force of 3000 Nayres, 700 of whom were archers, and 40 were armed with matchlocks. He had likewise several paraws provided with ordnance, with which he was supplied by the Zamorin."§

Vertoman says that the Portuguese who entered into the service of the native princes taught them the art of using cannon.‖

* Kerr's *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. II. p. 364. The original has *espingarda*, "que leuaua húa *espingarda*, com que tiraua de quando an quando."—*Historia do descobrimento, &c.* Vol. I. p. 96.

† Rowlandson, *Tohfut-ul Mujahideen*, p. 81.

‡ Kerr, p. 454. The fate of these men is shown in the same *Collection*, Vol. VII. p. 128.

§ *Ib.* Vol. II. p. 459.

‖ *Ib.* Vol. IX. p. 403.

Faria-e-Souza speaks of a Guzerát vessel in A. D. 1500 firing several guns at the Portuguese ;* of the Indians of Calicut using fire-vessels in 1502; and of the Zamorin's fleet carrying in the next year 380 guns.†

In 1511, the Portuguese are opposed at Malacca by a people using cannon, who defend their streets by mining with gunpowder. At sea, they employed floats of wild fire. Muhammed, king of Java, brought 3000 guns to bear, out of the 8000 which he possessed.‡

If we come to later times, we find Báber mentioning that the soldiers in Bengal were expert artillerists ;—for which of course they were indebted to the Portuguese. He himself had in his own camp large cannon, which fired huge stones and took a long time to load. He had also several pieces which he styled *Feringís*, showing their European origin.§ Arrows were also used in this action. In another part of his memoirs, Báber speaks of cannon being cast at the capital in his days ; but the fact of the welding system being adopted at Dacca in the days of Sháhjehán, does not say much for the efficiency of Bengal artillery a century previous.‖

At the battle of Pánipat also, A. D. 1526, Báber had used artillery, "chained together according to the custom of Rúm, with twisted bull-hides." He alludes no doubt to the victory

* Faria-e-Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, Tom. I. Part. I Chap. 5.
† *Ib.* Chap. 7.
‡ *Ib.* Tom. I. Part II. Chap. 7.
§ Leyden and Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*, pp. 413—416.
‖ *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, 1847. p. 590.

gained by Selím over Sháh Ism'aíl in 1514, in which this method had been found very effective. Baber appèars to have had no light pieces, for here also arrows were used in skirmishes.

Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven *turas*,* or breast-works. The matchlockmen stood behind these guns and *turas*, and discharged their matchlocks.

Shortly after this, we begin to have frequent mention of the use of rockets. Indeed, there is much reason to suppose, that as in the west, so in the east, rockets preceded cannon: yet it is strange that they should now be regarded in Europe as the most recent invention of artillery. Under the Emperor Leo the philosopher, who lived at the close of the ninth century, the soldiers of the lower empire used to carry within their shields light tubes (χειροσιφωνα), which were filled with artificial fire, and rushed through the air with extreme velocity. These were made under Leo's own directions.†

In A. D. 1232, the Chinese defended themselves against the Tartars by the use of rockets.‡

* Mr. Erskine observes on this word, that the meaning assigned to *tura* here is conjectural, and on the meaning given by Meninski to *tur*, viz. *reticulatus*. The *turas*, he says, may have been formed of the branches of trees, interwoven like basket-work, so as to form defences; or they may have been covered defences from arrows and missiles, such as we have seen used in several sieges. (*Memoirs of Baber*, p. 304.) But the word is *túbra*, a wallet or saddle-bag, not *tura*; and Abdu-l-Kádir makes the meaning plain, by saying they were *filled with earth*. The same author says, that eight-hundred of these gun-carriages were prepared in one day. (*Muntakhabu-t-tawárikh*, MS. fol. 67, r.) The sacks used by Sher Sháh as temporary fortifications on his march towards Rájpútána, were *túbras* (v. sup. p. 293.)

† *Leonis Tactica*, ap. Meursii Op. vi. 19, 57. *Journal des Savants*, 1847, p. 149.

‡ *A Danduli Chronicon*, ap: Muratori, XII. 448.

In modern Europe there are proofs of their use as early as A. D. 1380.*

Yet we are informed by the best authorities,† that rockets were first used in warfare at the siege of Copenhagen in 1807. Even in the modern history of India, we cannot fail to be struck with the frequent mention of rockets. Every page of the native historians abounds with notices of their use from Akber to Sháh Álam.‡ The iron work of one has been found to weigh thirty pounds.§

It is probable that the indications which we have of the early use of fiery missiles in ancient Indian warfare, refer more to rockets than cannons, and we will now proceed to consider the nature of these weapons.

The passage most commonly quoted to show the early use of fire-arms in India, is extracted from the code of Gentoo laws, where we have the following prohibition:—"The magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine, or with poisoned weapons, or with cannon and guns, or any kind of fire-arms." Halhed, commenting on this passage, says:—"The reader will probably from hence renew the suspicion which has long been deemed absurd, that Alexander the Great did absolutely meet with

* Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.* III. 1197. XV. 769. Ducange, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Lat.* v. Rocheta.

† *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. Rocket. They were used in the attack of Boulogne in 1806.

‡ Gladwin's *History of Jehangir*, p. 25. Tennant's *Indian Recreations*, Vol. I. p. 244.

§ Moor's *Hindú Pantheon*, p. 299.

some weapons of that kind in India, as a passage in Quintus Curtius seems to ascertain. Gunpowder has been known in China, as well as Hindustán, far beyond all periods of investigation. The word fire-arms is literally the Sanscrit 'Agniaster,' a weapon of fire; they describe the first species of it to have been a kind of dart, or arrow tipt with fire, and discharged upon the enemy from a bamboo. Among several extraordinary properties of this weapon, one was, that after it had taken its flight, it divided into several separate streams of flame, each of which took effect, and which, when once kindled, could not be extinguished; but this kind of 'Agniaster' is now lost."* He then goes on to say, that cannon is called "Shataghnee," or the weapon that kills one hundred men at once,† and that the Poorán-shásters ascribe the invention of these destructive engines to Viswacarma,‡ the Vulcan of the Hindús,—a name which M. Eusebe Salverte§ is tempted to believe furnished the etymology of the French word *vacarme*;—which is about as reasonable as to suppose, that Charivari comes from Chakravarti, because it is a title exclusively

* Halhed, *Code of Gentoo Laws*, Introduction, p. lii. See also the *Amera Kosha* and *Sabda Kalpa Drúma*. Vol. I. p. 16.

† It may well admit of doubt if this was really a cannon. In the *Raghuvansa* it is distinctly said, that the "Dæmon laid his iron-headed Sataghní upon Ráma, as Kuvera laid his celebrated *club* upon Jamráj."

अयस्संकुचितां रक्षः शतघ्नीमथ शत्रवे।
हृतां वैवस्वतस्येव कुटशात्मलि भक्षिषत॥

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 264.

§ *Philosophy of Magic*, Vol. II. p. 235.

devoted to those who have made a considerable noise in the world.

The submarine fire, Urva, in the Drama of the Sakuntala, where it is called "the mysterious fire which burns in the depth of the seas," has been supposed to allude to a composition similar to Greek fire; but M. Langlois, appealing to an episode from the Harivansa, entertains the much more probable opinion, that a submarine volcano is alluded to.* Viswámitra, who is represented in the Rámáyana as giving different kinds of weapons to Ráma, speaks of one as *Agneya*, another as *Shikhara;*

आग्नेयमस्त्रन्दयितं शिखरन्नाम नामतः।

Carey and Marshman, who render *Shikhara* as a combustible weapon, deduce from this passage that the ancient Hindús were acquainted with gunpowder. The passage, however, seems to contain a mere poetic fiction. The author there speaks of numerous kinds of weapons, some of which were evidently imaginary, as for instance, the *Vayava* or *airy*. The Harivansa speaks of the fiery weapon thus:—

आग्नेयमस्त्रं लब्ध्वा च भार्गवात्सगरो नृपः॥
जिगाय पृथिवीं कृत्वा तालजङ्घान्सहैहयान्।

* See M. Chézy, *La Reconnaissance de Sacountala*, p. 213. Wilson, *Sanscrit Dictionary*, बाडव and वडवानल *Sabda Kalpa Drúma*, Vol. III. p. 2489, and Eusebe Salverte, *Occult Sciences*, Eng. Trans. Vol. II. p. 223 where, in allusion to this passage, it is said, "The fire which burns and crackles on the bosom of the waves denotes that the Greek fire was anciently known in Hindustan under the name of *Barrawa*."

"King Sagara having received *fire arms* from Bhárgava,* conquered the world, after slaying the Taljanghas and the Haihayas."

Again, the same:

ऊर्व्वस्तु जातकर्म्मादि तस्य कृत्वा महात्मनः ॥
अध्याप्य वेदानखिलांस्ततो शस्त्रमत्य पादयत् ।
आग्नेयन्तु महाबाहु रमरैरपि दुस्सहम् ॥
सतेनास्त्र बलेनाजौ बलेनच समन्वितः ।

"Aurva having performed the usual ceremonies on the birth of the great-minded (prince); and having taught him the Vedas, instructed him in the use of arms; the great-armed (Aurva) (presented him) the fiery weapon,† which even the immortals‡ could not stand."

The following lengthy description in the Srí Bhágavat of the discharge of the Brahmástra§ is somewhat peculiar. It is needless to extract the entire passage from the original:

तमापतन्तं सविलोक्य दूरात्कुमारहोद्विग्नमनारथेन ॥
पराद्रवत्प्राण परीप्सुरुर्व्वी यावद्गमं रुद्रभयाद्यथाकः ।
यदाशरणमात्मान मैक्षत श्रान्तवाजिनम् ॥
अस्तम्भ्रह्मशिरो मेन आत्मत्राणं द्विजात्मजः ।
अथोपस्पृश्य सलिलं सन्दधे तत् समाहितः ॥
अजानन्नपि संहारं प्राणकृच्छ्र उपस्थिते ।
ततः प्रादुष्कृतं तेजः प्रचण्डं सर्वतो दिशम् ॥
प्राणापद मभिप्रेक्ष्य विष्णुं जिष्णुरुवाचह ।

"The murderer of the princes (Ashwathámа) seeing him advancing from a distance, was much alarmed, and fled for his

* M. Langlois observes that these fire arms appear to have belonged to the Bhárgavas, the family of Bhrigú.—*Harivansa*, p. 68.

† M. Langlois translates it, *arme de feu*, in this and the preceding passage. The whole legend of Orva and Ourva will be found in the *Harivansa*, Vol. I, p. 211. where the translator considers that some kind of Greek fire is alluded to.

‡ It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between the fights of Demons and Immortals in the Shástras and the war of the Titans against Saturn, and of the Giants against Jupiter; and in nothing is it more striking than in the use of fiery weapons and thunders. It is worthy of remark that those contests are of late importation into Greek mythology. Homer and Hesiod are silent on the subject, on which so many later writers have employed their imagination.

§ Wilson, in his *Sanscrit Dictionary*, s. v. calls it "the Brahma weapon, a fabulous weapon originally from Brahma."

life in his car, like Brahma running away for fear of Shiva, as far as it was possible to go on the earth. When his horses being fatigued, he considered himself without help, the Brahmin's son looked upon the *Brahmástra* as his only refuge. Accordingly, having washed his hands, and fixed his mind, he adjusted, and discharged it, though he did not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. Arjuna seeing a glaring light flaming on all sides, and considering his life in danger, spoke to Krishna. 'O Krishna! Krishna! thou great armed! thou who makest thy followers fearless! thou art the only deliverance for those who burn in the world. Thou art the first Being, absolute God, superior to Prákriti itself. Thou dwellest in the spirit alone by the power of intellect, giving up *Máyá*. Thou ordainest by thine own power the righteousness and well-being of all people, whose minds are blinded by *Máyá*. Even now thou art incarnate, in order to bear the burden of the world, and even to help thine own people, who think of no body else. Oh God of Gods! I know not whence this is, or what it is. I see a fearful light coming from all sides.' Krishna's answer:—'Know this to be the *Brahmástra*, of the son of Drona. He does not know how to draw it in, in case of danger. He has no other counteracting weapon. Thou art well skilled in arms; destroy the force of this by the power of thy arms.' Súta continued: 'Arjuna the destroyer of hostile chiefs, having heard Krishna's language, and having washed his hands, discharged his *Brahmástra* against that of his antagonist. The fury of the two fiery darts acting against each other overspread the heavens and earth, and waxed strong like the burning rays of the sun. The three worlds were illuminated by the great light of the two weapons; the inhabitants were all burnt, and believed the end of the world to be at hand. Arjuna observing the calamity which befell the world and the distress of the people, drew in both weapons agreeably to Krishna's wishes."

In a note on the subject of the Brahmástra, the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, to whom I am indebted for the preceding reference, observes in his excellent work "the Encyclopædia Bengalensis," that the Brahmástra was probably a piece of musketry, not unlike the modern matchlocks.*

The Srí Bhágavat makes mention also of Aswathámа's discharging his Brahmástra against

* *Encycl. Beng.* Vol. III. p. 21.

Uttara while she was with child, with a view to destroy her embryo; and Khrishna, the constant friend of the Pándavas, is represented as saving her by his superhuman power. The Deví Purán says that Brahma made the instrument for the purpose of killing Narain.* The curious part in the preceding description is the drawing the missile back. In this respect it has some resemblance to the *Boomerang* of the Australian savages. An account of this magic stick, which returns to the persons who threw it, is subjoined.†

* *Sabda Kalpa Drúma*, Vol. III. p. 839.

‡ This instrument is a flat curved piece of hard wood, about eighteen inches long, three inches wide in the middle, tapering off towards the extremities, and nearly half an inch thick; the native ones are very roughly finished, and vary in size considerably; which is of no importance: it is used either to bring down birds in their flight, or to arrest the progress of men or animals until they can be dispatched by other means; but its singular property is that of returning to the thrower, which has often excited the astonishment of travellers, and the incredulity of those who have only heard of it, until it has now become quite familiar. This curious fact has been related in such a manner as to render it much more extraordinary than it really is when correctly stated; for if it touch any object in its flight it will not return, although, by some, it has been supposed capable of killing an animal and then returning to the thrower.

The principle on which it acts merits some investigation; and I think I shall be able to prove that this peculiar property does not depend wholly on its form, although the one adopted may be the most convenient for the purpose. Any thin flat body, whatever may be its form, will exhibit the same phenomenon, provided a rapid rotation round its centre of gravity be communicated at the same time that it is projected forward at a considerable angle of elevation. The natives are of course perfectly ignorant of the principles, and, like all other savages, confine their knowledge to effects.

Many familiar instances of rotation causing bodies to return, after being projected forward, may be adduced: a hoop, for example, will return, if thrown forward with a sudden jerk inwards from the upper part of its circumference. A billiard ball, struck with force and dexterity just below its centre may be made to pass from one end of the table to the other and return without having touched the cushion. The blow in this direction gives the ball a rapid rotation towards the striker, and at the same time drives it forward, not rolling, but sliding along the cloth, and revolving in an opposite direction; the moment

In the Mahábhárata we read of a "flying ball emitting the sound of a thunder-cloud," which Bopp considers to apply to a meteor, though the Scholiast is express in referring it to Artillery.*

the friction has overcome the projectile force, the ball rolls back by virtue of the original revolving motion communicated to it by the stroke of the queue.

Another instance less known, I have already mentioned in a former part, namely, that of a bullet discharged from a crooked barrel, being thrown at long distances, in an opposite direction to the curvature.

The *boomerang*, however, is influenced by different causes. To exhibit the phenomenon properly, it must be thrown into the air with great force, at an angle of 50° or 60° of elevation, and by an inward motion of the wrist [difficult to describe and not easy to execute], a rapid spin must be communicated to it, otherwise it will not return. I have repeatedly thrown it forward, upwards of forty yards, and it has returned backwards over my head, and fallen fifteen or sixteen yards, behind me. If pieces of card be cut in various forms, rectangular, oval, circular, and semi-circular, all of them will return across a room, more or less, when projected from the fingers at a considerable angle of elevation, with a rapid rotary motion; and it is immaterial whether the rotation be from right to left, or the contrary; the only effect of the rotation being to keep them nearly in the same plane of air as that in which they were propelled, and thus prevent them from obtaining an horizontal position to which they always incline from the situation of the centre of gravity; thus, if left to themselves, they would present their broad surfaces to the air, and descend nearly in a perpendicular direction as soon as the projectile force ceased to operate, if unaccompanied by rotation; but the rotation, continuing after the projectile force has ceased, causes them to slide down the inclined plane of air up which they were thrown, merely because it is *the line of least resistance*; that is, they cannot descend perpendicularly, because their broad surfaces are opposed to the resistance of the air in that direction, while their edges are inclined to the same angle as that in which they were projected. These are the principles on which the *boomerang* acts, for if it be thrown forward at a small elevation, or horizontally, the rotation has no tendency to cause its return; it therefore proceeds forward, cutting the air always in that direction which opposes the least resistance, exactly in the same manner as any other body having a thin edge in one direction and extent of surface in another: for which reason it often winds round and performs a variety of curious and amusing gyrations in the air which depend on the relative degrees of projectile and rotatory force communicated to it and the currents of air through which it moves: but in these instances, although it may describe a semi-circle, or even return within the line in which it was thrown, it never returns to the thrower.—Wilkinson, *Engines of War*. pp. 290—294.

* Bopp, *Anmerkungen zu Ardschuna's Himmelreise*, p. 74. Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, II. 66. See also Theodore Benfey, *Indien*, p. 239.

In this place observation may be drawn to the very singular relation of a combustible, which occurs in the Extract from the Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh, given above at p. 272, where we read that the Bráhmins counselled Hál to have an elephant made of clay, and to place it in the van of his army, and that when the army of the king of Cashmír drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force. Here we have not only the simple act of explosion, but something very much like a fuze, to enable the explosion to occur at a particular period. The testimony is valuable, for the work was translated as early as A. D. 1126 from the Arabic, which had been translated a century previous from a Sanscrit original, even then acknowledged to be very old.

We have other eastern stories all bearing much the same character, and all composed long before the invention of gunpowder.

Firdúsí, who died A. D. 1020, tells us that the troops of Sicander (Alexander the Great) were greatly terrified at the sight of the two thousand elephants, which Fúr had brought into the field, and that some philosophers were requested to consult together to contrive some means of counteracting this tremendous force. They suggested the construction of an iron horse, and the figure of a rider, also of iron, to be placed upon wheels like a carriage, and filled with naphtha; so that on coming in contact

with the elephants, the whole engine might explode.* The monarch approved of this invention, and collected all the blacksmiths and artizans in the country, to construct a thousand machines of this description with the utmost expedition. The consequence was, that when Fúr advanced to the attack, the combustibles were fired by the Grecians, and the horses exploding, many of the elephants were burnt and destroyed, and the rest, together with the army, fled away in confusion.†

یکی بارگي ساختند آهنین — سواري ز اهن و زاهنش زین
بمیخ و بمس درزها دوخته — سوار و تن باره افروخته
بگردون همین راند پیشش سپاه — درونش بیا گند نفت سیاه
سکندر بدیدان پسندد آمدش — خرد مند را سودمند آمدش
بفرمود تازان فزون صد هزار — ز اهن بکردند اسپ و سوار
باسپ وبه نفت اتش اندرزدند — همه لشکر فور برسر زدند
از اتش برافروخت نفت سیاه — بجنبید آزان کا هنین بدسپاه
چو پیلان بدیدند زایشان گریز — برفتند بالشکر از جای تیز
همه لشکر هند گشتند باز — همان زنده پیلان گردن فراز

M. Eusebe Salverte‡ gives the same story from the lately discovered life of Alexander by

* This reminds us of Planearpin's story of Prester-John. The Tartars informed the monk, that Prester-John, when attacked by the son of Changez Khán, led against his assailants figures of bronze, mounted on horseback. The inside of these figures was filled with fire, and behind each, there was a man, who threw something within them, which immediately produced an immense smoke. *Voyage de Plancarpin*, v. 42, ap. *Phil. of Magic*, Vol. II. p. 236.

† *Sháhnáma*, Turner Macan's Edit. Vol. III. p. 1308.

‡ *Phil. of Magic*, Vol. II. p. 223.

J. Vactrius, referring to the *Biblioth. Univers. Litt.* Tom. VII. pp. 225, 226.

It is not improbable that the *rolling horses*, mentioned in a Chinese account of India, were used for a similar purpose. "The Indians are timid in battle; their weapons are the bow and arrows, and shield. They have also, like the Chinese, flying, or winged, ladders; and according as the ground will permit, they follow the rules of the *wooden oxen* and *rolling horses*."*

Cazvíní, writing at the close of the thirteenth century, says, in his Chapter on the Islands of the Indian sea, that the inhabitants of a certain island petitioned Alexander to free them of an enormous dragon, who used to require two bulls for his daily sustenance, and if he did not get them, he would take his revenge by laying waste the fields and killing men and women: "which when Alexander heard, he ordered the hides of two bulls to be brought, and stuffed them with pitch, sulphur, lime and arsenic, together with iron hooks, and then directed that they should be placed where the dragon used to come for his daily food. The dragon came, and devoured them as usual, but as he was retiring towards his den, a flame was kindled in his belly, and the hooks adhered to his entrails, so that he died."†

The following extract from the Sháhnáma relates to the same story:—

* Ma-twam-lin, *Deep Researches into ancient monuments*; translated in *As. Journal*, 1836. Vol. XX. p. 218.

† Görres, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, II. 387.

بیاگند چرمش بزهر و بهنفت سوی اژدها روی بنهاد تفت
بدم پوستها را پراز باد کرد زداد ار نیکی دهش یاد کرد
بفرمود تا پوست برداشتند همه دست بردست بگذاشتند
چو نزدیکی اژدها رفت شاه بسان یکی ابر دیدش سیاه
زبانش کبود و چشمش چوخون همی اتش آمد زکامش برون
چو گاو از سرکوه بینداختند برآن اژدها دل به پرداختند
فرو برد چون باد گاو اژدها چو آمد زچنگ دلیران رها
چواز پوست پیوندش اگنده شد براندام زهرش پراگنده شد

Western authors also connect Alexander's name with many anecdotes relating to the use of incendiary preparations in warfare. These accounts, combined with those given by Oriental writers, make it difficult to believe that the ancient Indians did not possess a knowledge of some substances which had much the same power and effect as gunpowder. Philostratus says :—

"Had Alexander passed the Hyphasis, he never could have made himself master of the fortified habitation of these sages. Should an enemy make war on them, they drive him off by means of tempests and thunders, as if sent down from heaven. The Egyptian Hercules and Bacchus made a joint attack on them, and by means of various military engines attempted to take the place. The sages remained unconcerned spectators, until the assault was made, when it was repulsed by fiery whirlwinds and thunders, which, being hurled from above, dealt destruction on the invaders."*

Themistius also mentions the Brâhmins fighting at a distance, with lightnings and thunders.†

* Philostrati *Vit. Apollon.* Lib. II. C. 33.

† *Orat.* XXVII. p. 337, ap. Dutens, *Origine des découvertes attribuees aux Modernes*, p. 196. Maurice, *Mod. Hist. of Hindustan*, Vol. I. p. 144.

Alexander's use of incendiary compositions is a favorite topic with the early romancists. One was furnished to him by a certain Alcays, with which he fired the city of Tyre from a mangonel. No doubt this instructor is the same as the Keyd of the Sháhnáma, the Kefend of the Mujmalu-t-Tawáríkh and the Kend of Mas'údí.*

In the famous treatise of Marcus Græcus, entitled *Liber ignium ad comburendos hostes*, we find recipes headed,—"Ignis quem invenit Aristoteles, quando cum Alexandro rege ad obscura loca iter ageret;" and again, "Sequitur alia species ignis, quo Aristoteles domos in montibus sitas destruxit incendio." The use of fire, however, is so obvious an auxiliary, that we are surprised it is not more often mentioned. Thucydides speaks of it at the siege of Platæa (II. 77.) Livy mentions the use of πυροβολοι by the Ætolians (xxxviii. 6.) and Æneas, the tactician, who lived about the time of Aristotle, enjoins its use in his valuable *Commentarius Poliorceticus*,—J. C. Orelli, Leipzig, 1818. Some other early instances are adduced in note D.

In the apocryphal letter of Alexander to Aristotle, we find mention made of the terrific flashes of flame, which he beheld showered on his army on the burning plains of India. Dante has immortalised the tradition:—

> Quali Alessandro in quelle parti calde
> D'India vide sovra lo suo stolo

* *Histoire de l'artillerie*, p. 48, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 45 ; *Sháhnáma*, Vol. III. p. 1290.

Fiamme cadere infino a terra salde,
Perch' ei provvide a scalpitar lo suolo
Con le sue schiere, perciocchè vapore
Me' si stingueva, mentre ch' era solo;
Tale scendeva l'eternale ardore. *Inferno*, xiv. 31—7.

Ctesias says that the Indians manufactured an oil on the banks of the river Indus, enclosed in earthen jars, and that on being shot out against woodworks, a flame was kindled, which could only be extinguished by a quantity of mud, thickly laid on it; that it was manufactured solely for the king; and no one else was allowed to have it in his possession.*

Ælian, while he quotes Ctesias, at the same time improves upon this relation. He says that the oil has such strength, that it not only burns up wood, but men and animals, and, indeed, anything it touches; that the king of the Indians takes cities by its means; that no battering-ram, or other poliorcetic machine, can resist it; earthen jars are filled with it, and thrown upon city gates; the jars being fractured, the oil spreads, and is inextinguishable and insatiable, burning both arms and fighting men.†

Philostratus, speaking of the same, says, there is in the Hyphasis an insect which looks like a white worm, producing an oil, from which issues a flame of such a nature, that it can only be extinguished by mud.‡ This insect is the

* Ctesiæ *Indica Excerpta*. xxvii. Ed. Baer, p. 356.

† *De Naturâ Animal.* Lib. V. Cap. 3.

‡ πηλοῦ. The edition of Olearius reads ὑελοῦ, which is followed by Berwick, who translates it "only to be contained in a glass vial,"—which is very forced and unnatural; besides, the former is used both by Ctesias and Ælian.

king's sole property, and is used by him in destroying the walls of besieged towns; for the moment it touches the battlements, it is said to kindle such a flame, as cannot be put out by any of the ordinary means for extinguishing fire.*

These three authors concur in representing that this oil is procured from a worm, σκώληξ, which must be a pretty large one, as it is seven cubits long, and of proportionate breadth. However fabulous may be the origin of this product, we cannot entertain a doubt that it was something highly inflammable and destructive.

This river worm is described as having two teeth, one above and one below, and with them devouring whatever comes within its reach. During the day, it burrows in the mud, but at night, emerges on the land, and carries off oxen, and even camels. It is taken with a large hook, to which a goat or sheep is fastened with an iron chain. When captured, it is hung up for a month, with vessels placed underneath, into which runs as much oil as would fill ten Attic cotylæ. Professor H. H. Wilson considers that the alligator is alluded to. He is not, however, aware that oil is extracted from the alligator, but at the dissection of one at which he assisted, "enormous masses of yellow fat were found under the skin, which might have been converted into oil."†

* Philostrati *Vita Apollonii*, Lib. III. Cap. 1.
† *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 61.

But there can be no doubt about alligator—or rather, when referring to India, crocodile—oil; for almost all the native works on Materia Medica notice it, and ascribe wonderful properties to it. Even in the crocodile's products live the wonted alarms which its natural voracity inspires. Happy the man in whose frail bark its oil, or fat, burns! Him will not assail the croak of frogs, croak they never so hoarsely.* Let it even be mixed with wax, let even the rains be the season of their operations, and their eternal croaking, while it may be distracting the ears of his next neighbours, is as inaudible to him, as if he were in Seriphus or Sicendus.† Happy the he-goat on whose forehead it is rubbed! for he can put to flight all competitors. Happy the city which has its skin! for if drawn round the walls and suspended from the entrance gate, no hail will fall within it, or blast the tender crops of its inhabitants;‡

* The Greeks attributed this miraculous effect to the burning of *any* lamp. Africanus says:—

Βάτραχοι σιωπήσουσι κράζοντες, ἐὰν λύχνον ἅψας θῇς πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην.

† See Pliny, *Nat: Hist:* Lib. VIII. C. 58 and Tzetzes, *Chiliad*, 8.

‡ *Tohfatu-l-Múmenín.* See also Muhammed Husain's *Makhzan-i Advíya*, Hooghli Ed. Vol. I. p. 425.

The prescription in the text affords another curious coincidence between Asiatic and European superstitions. The value of the crocodile's skin in averting hail was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and the same mode of circuit and suspension was adopted.

Grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyænæ vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat, et in villæ aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.—Palladius, *De Re Rusticâ*, Lib. I. Tit. 35.

Again, an unknown author in the Geoponical Collection of Cassianus Bassus says:—

Πάλιν ἐὰν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ περιαγάγῃς ὑαίνης ἢ κροκοδείλου ἢ φώκης δέρμα, καὶ τοῦτο πρὸ πυλῶν τῆς οἰκήσεως ἀναρτήσῃς, οὐ πεσεῖται χάλαζα:—*Geoponicorum*, Lib. I. Cap. xiv.

nec illos
Expectata seges vanis eludet aristis.
Georg. I. 226.

On the whole, then, we may conclude, that fire arms of some kind were used in the early stages of Indian History;* that the missiles were explosive; and that the time or mode of ignition was dependent on pleasure; that projectiles were used, which were made to adhere to gates, buildings, and machines, setting fire to them from a considerable distance; that it is probable that saltpetre, the principal ingredient of gunpowder, and the cause of its detonation, entered into the composition, because the earth of Gangetic India is richly impregnated with it in a natural state of preparation, and it may be

* From the annexed extract it will be seen that the subject has just been discussed by the person most competent to illustrate it.

June 17—Prof. Wilson in the chair.—The Director, Prof. Wilson, read to the Asiatic Society a paper written by himself, 'On the Military Science of the Ancient Hindûs.' The paper began with the observation, that although the Hindûs had always been inferior to their foreign invaders in practical warfare, they were probably superior to them in its theory. A supplementary portion of their Vedas, or Sacred Institutes, was devoted to the science of war, under the denomination of Dhanuk Veda. This original treatise is probably lost; but many interesting particulars are derivable from the Agni Purâna, the Mahâ-bhârata, and other of their standard works. The bow appears to have been their chief weapon (as is demonstrated by the word Dhanuk a bow, in the name Dhanuk Veda); but other missile arms, as the discus, javelins, short iron clubs, &c. were used. The troops were also generally armed with swords, maces, axes and spears, and defended by helmets, quilted jackets, and coats of mail. Their armies were theoretically arranged in bodies of relative proportions, consisting of elephants, chariots, horse, and foot—the former being equal in number, and the latter in the proportion of three horsemen and five footmen for each chariot. The number of chariots and elephants is the great characteristic of Hindû warfare; and it is remarkable that in their heroic poems the heroes are generally represented as riding in a chariot, and never on a horse. In a few cases they are mentioned as coming to battle on an elephant; but in the course of time horses have entirely superseded chariots in India as in Britain, where the chariot once played so important a part in battle. The paper proceeded with

extracted from it by lixiviation and crystallization without the aid of fire; and that sulphur may, for the same reason, have been mixed with it, as it is abundant in the north-west of India.

This destructive agent appears to have fallen into disuse before we reach authentic history, and, notwithstanding the assertions to the contrary, there seems reason to suppose that, at the time of the Muhammedan invasion, the only inflammable projectiles which were known were of a more simple nature, composed chiefly, if not entirely, of bituminous substances,—from naphtha, the most liquid, to asphaltum, the most solid of them,—and that, whether from cumbrousness or "ineffectual fires," they were very rarely brought into action.

It is not to be gathered for certain that the natives of southern India were superior in the

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a description of the various sorts of bows, arrows, and other weapons used by the ancient Hindús. The question as to the knowledge of gunpowder, or any similar explosive substance, by the ancient people of India, said the Professor, is one of great historical interest. It is clear from their medical works that they were acquainted with the constituents of gunpowder, and possessed them in great abundance: and our acquaintance with their literature is as yet too imperfect to warrant a reply in the negative because we have not met with a positive account of the invention. Their writings make frequent reference to arms of fire; and rockets—which appear to be an Indian invention, though not mentioned by name in Sanscrit writings—had long been used in their armies when Europeans first came in contact with them. Tactics also were not omitted in Hindú military science. The division of the army into centre, flanks, wings, and reserve, is laid down; and rules for the order of march, the modes of overcoming obstacles, the choice of a position, and the different kinds of array, are given, and illustrated by quotations from the Agni Purána. The subject of encampment received attention; in illustration of which the paper concluded with a quotation from the Mahâ-bhârata, describing in considerable detail the pitching of Yudhishthira's camp upon a level and fertile spot on the banks of the Hinanvati, agreeably to the precepts laid down for the regulation of the practice.—*Athenæum July*, 8, 1848.

use of Artillery to the Portuguese on their first arrival; but, even if they were, they might easily have acquired their skill from Egypt, Persia, and Arabia, with which during the period of Muhammedan supremacy there was constant communication; so that there is nothing in the testimony of either native or foreign witnesses sufficiently positive to lead to the conclusion, that, in modern times at least, the knowledge of fire-arms was indigenous in India, and antecedent to their use in Europe.

XXIX.

تاریخ حاکمان هند

TA'RI'KH-I-HA'KIMA'N-I-HIND.

A history of India; comprising an Introduction, twelve Sections and Supplement.

Introduction. The sovereigns of India, from Shem, the son of Noah, to Anand Deo.
1st Sect.—The Sultáns of Lahore, from Násiru-d-dín Sabuktigín, to Khusrú, son of Khusrú Sháh.
2nd Sect.—Kings of Dehli, from Mu'izzu-d-dín Muhammed Sám to Akber.
3rd Sect.—Kings of the Deccan in six Chapters, treating of the Kings of Kalburga, Bíjápúr, Ahmednagar, Telingána, Berár and Beder.
4th Sect.—Princes of Guzerát.
5th Sect.—Princes of Málwa.
6th Sect.—Princes of Burhánpúr.
7th Sect.—Kings of Bengal.
8th Sect.—Kings of Sind and Tatta.
9th Sect.—Princes of Multán.
10th Sect.—Kings of Cashmír.
11th Sect.—Rulers of Malabár.
12th Sect.—The holy men of Hindústán.
Supplement.—A description of Hindústán.

Author unknown; the work appears to be an abridgement of Ferishta.*

* *Mackenzie Collection*, Vol. II. p. 126.

XXX.

مآثر رحيمي

MASIR-I-RAHIMI.

Dr. Lee observes of this work, that "it is a valuable and elaborate history of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, Hindústán, &c. by Muhammed Abd-el-Báki el Rahimi el Nahavendi. In large folio, containing about 4000 pages."* Major Stewart describes it as "Memoirs of Abd-l-rahim Khan, Khan Khanan, Wazir, and of all the illustrious nobles, authors, and poets, who resided at the Court of Akber. Author, Abdu-l-Baki, A. D. 1613."†

These authors differ much in their account of the work: both are partly right and partly wrong. There is no account of the Emperors and other eminent men of Tartary, if we except the account of 'Abdu-r-rahím's ancestors, and the biographical details do not concern the Court of Akber, but belong almost entirely to the Deccan. A great portion of the work is devoted to an ample detail of the transactions of his patron, the Khán Khánán, his sons and progenitors, and though he certainly was of

* *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, p. xiv.

† *Descriptive Catalogue of Tippoo Sultán's Library*, p. 14.

sufficient eminence to deserve a full biography, it is here written, as usual under such circumstances, in so fulsome a strain of eulogy, that it is difficult to know what faith to put in it. The first Book contains Indian History, not sufficiently comprehensive to be of any essential service; but it is so far valuable that it does not literally copy Ferishta, which can rarely be said of any other author who has followed in the same line. Nizámu-dín is his great guide, and his alarm at attempting any period of history not already occupied by another, is shown by the extract taken from the close of his account of Akber. The work also contains a Tazkira, or notices of poets, with long extracts from their writings, and it will be seen from the following Table of Contents that nearly one third of the volume is devoted to that object;—the accounts of the poets extending from p. 990 to p. 1454.

CONTENTS.

Preface; pp. 1—7

Introduction, respecting the ancestors of 'Abdu-r-rahím, Khán Khánán; pp. 7—36.

Book I.—An account of Muhammed Bairam Beg, father of 'Abdu-r-rahím, preceded by the history of the kings of Hindústán from the time of the Ghaznevides to the accession of Jehángír, including the kings of Bengal, p. 46,—the kings of Juanpúr, p. 52,—kings of Málwa, p. 56,—kings of Cashmír, p. 113,—kings of Multán, p. 148,—kings of Dehli, p. 160,—Báber, p. 272,—Humaiyún, p. 290,—Akber, p. 381,—Jehángír p. 552;—pp. 37—606.

Book II.—The virtues and victories of 'Abdu-r-rahím, with copies of firmáns addressed to him, and of some of his compositions, including also an account of the rulers of Gujrát, p. 621,—of Sind, p. 696,—of Deccan, p. 776,—of Khándes, p. 808;—pp. 606—922.

Book III.—On the palaces, baths, mosques, and other buildings erected by the Khán Khánán, the gardens planted by him, and the ships built by him;—pp. 923—932.

Book IV.—An account of the sons of the Khán Khánán; pp. 933—968.

Conclusion—in a Preface and three* Chapters, (1) on contemporary philosophers, physicians, and other celebrated men, 31 persons, p. 962; (2) poets, including the author, 92 persons, p. 990; (3) on the military officers under command of the Khán Khánán, 44 persons, p. 1454;—pp. 969—1513.

Size—Folio, 1513 pages, each containing 25 lines. There are a few blank pages, which are about equal to the marginal additions.

The author, 'Abdu-l-Báki, Nahávendí, composed his work under the encouragement he received from Abú-l-faiz Faizí, brother of Abú-l-fazl, and 'Abdu-r-rahím; Khán Kháṉán, son of Bairam Khán. He gives a little information respecting himself and his ancestry; referring for more copious particulars to Takíu-d-dín's Tazkira, entitled Másiru-l-Khizría, which was dedicated and named after his brother, Aghá Khizr, and to 'Abdu-l-M'álí's Tazkira, which is dedicated to Sháh 'Abbás; and as "self-praise is a great fault," he refers to them rather than repeat in this work what they have said respecting him. In them also will be found a full account of his family and connections as well of his patron, the Khán Khánán. His family was originally from Júlak,† "which contains more than 30,000 houses," but in consequence of the contentions which arose during

* In the body of the work, the Chapters are said to amount to four but the Preface states that the Conclusion is divided into three Chapters, and the detail shows that there are only three.

† For the correct mode of writing this word, see Ouseley's *Persian Travels*, Vol. II. p. 3.

the reign of Sháh Ism'íl Safví, his family left Júlak and went to reside at Nehávend.

The author states that his ancestors were Generals under Afrásiáb, and that they held the lands of Júlak in rent-free tenure from Sháh Ism'íl. His most noted ancestor was Aká Bábá, who resided at Hamadán. His brother was made Deputy Governor of Hamadán in the time of Sháh 'Abbás. Amír Takí Muhammed has noticed the excellence of his administration in the Tazkira which he has written, and many memorials of his munificence exist in the neighbourhood, especially the embankment at Káshán and the avenue of trees, of which our author for a long time enjoyed the proceeds.

He appears, for some reason or other, to have given dissatisfaction to the reigning monarch, Sháh 'Abbás; on account of which, he determined upon quitting his native country, and, at the invitation of Abú-l-faiz Faizí and 'Abdu-r-rahím Khán, was induced to visit Hindústán, and arrived at Burhánpúr in Khándes in A. H. 1023, where he was received with kindness, and presented with a Jágír. He completed his work in A. H. 1025—A. D. 1616—calling it Másir-i-rahímí, after his patron, in whose praise he has inserted many pieces of poetry in the body of the work, and declares his intention of continuing these laudatory effusions till the day of his death.

EXTRACTS.

When the knowledge of Kaikobád's having abandoned himself to pleasure and revelry was spread abroad, strumpets, jesters,

singing-men and singing-women flocked from all quarters to the Court, and the very name of sorrow and melancholy was banished from men's hearts. There was not a moment without its peculiar amusement, and the assemblies at the palace were filled with wags, pot-companions, mistresses and sodomites, amongst whom the king distributed his presents and tokens with a most lavish profusion.*

Malik Nizámu-d-dín, the minister, was a sinful and disingenuous man, and the nobles of Balban's time, who were the pillars and supports of the throne, were much alarmed at the power and influence which he possessed, and used their best endeavours to secure his good will. The minister, who was a man of no sense or capacity, when he saw the nobles obsequiously devoted to his wishes, and the king revelling in his debaucheries, without any title whatever aspired to the throne, and took measures to extirpate the family of Balban. In order to effect his absurd project, he represented to the Sultán that Kai-Khusrú, who was associated with him in the sovereignty, and was endowed with many kingly virtues, was looked on as the heir of the throne, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the people, as well as with the chiefs and grandees. The Sultán giving ear to these representations, summoned Kai-Khusrú to his presence, and ordered that innocent prince to be murdered on his arrival at the town of Rohtak.

* * * * * *

Mubárak returned to Dehli and became engrossed in the sensual pleasures to which he was addicted. His cousin, Malik Rashídu-d-dín, seeing the Sultán constantly drunk, resolved on usurping the throne, but some informer revealed the plot, and Rashídu-d-dín was apprehended and put to death, and some assassins were sent to Gwáliár to murder Khizr Khán, Shádí Khán, and Malik Shahábu-d-dín, sons of Sultán Alá'u-d-dín, who had been previously blinded upon the king's accession. After their murder, their wives and children were sent to Dehli. * * *

He emulated his father in the refinement of his tortures and murders. He slew Zafar Khán for no offence whatever, as well as Malik Sháhí, who was styled Wafá-i-mulk, and committed every kind of crime and vice, which could lead to the downfall of the empire. He actually clothed himself in female apparel, and accompanied by several impudent and abandoned women, used to attend like a common actress at the houses of the nobility. He used to display himself openly naked before all men. These,

* One might almost fancy he was reading a Lakhnau Akhbár. This propensity for whores, fiddlers, parasites and buffoons is the besetting sin of the Princes of India even at the present day. With lamentably few exceptions, their occupations rarely rise above the low level indicated in the text.

and other obscenities too gross to mention, were the daily occupations of the king. * * *

When Khusrú Khán arrived at Ma'bar, of which he had been nominated Governor, the chiefs absconded with their property and treasures, but Khwájah Taki, a merchant, confiding in the honor of the Muhammedan army, remained. Nevertheless, he was plundered of all he possessed, and was put to death. Khusrú Khán, obeying the dictates of his evil disposition, thought proper to aspire to independence, and sought how he might slay the chiefs associated with him. Malik Timúr, the Governor of Chanderí, and Malik Haibat Afghán, being informed of his intentions, anticipated his measures, and determined on sending him to Dehli; but he, alarmed at the threats of the nobles, set off in a Pálkí and arrived in seven (?) days from Deogarh to Dehli. The nobles entertained the persuasion that they would get thanked for their devotion, but when Khusrú Khán arrived, and had a personal interview with the king, he complained against the nobles, whom he accused of a desire to assassinate him. The king, who was quite infatuated in his attachment to Khusrú Khán, placing implicit reliance on all the lies he uttered; was very angry with the nobles, and on their arrival at Dehli, when they were prepared to lay bare his imposture, and adduced evidence to that effect, it was all of no use, for they, as well as their witnesses, were punished, so that they were compelled again to court the good graces of the favorite, and to deny all that they had previously asserted.

Account of the building of a private Chapel.

As his Majesty Akber, from his very earliest youth was, under the guidance of his excellent disposition, charmed with the companionship of wise men, and was fond of holding literary assemblies, and as he delighted in hearing the subtleties of various sciences, ancient and modern, and possessed a perfect knowledge of the history of religions and of ancient nations, as well as of what was passing in the world, and actuated by the delight which he experienced from the society of men competent to discuss these themes, he gave orders on his return from Ajmír in the month Zil'kád 982, that his architects and builders should erect a place of worship and retirement near the Palace, to which no one should gain admittance but Saiyids, learned men, and religious characters.

The architects consequently laid the foundation of such a hall containing four entrances, and from the time that it was finished, his Majesty collected the learned and holy men on Thursday and the other fortunate nights, and continued his interviews and disputations till the morning. To secure order, he directed

that the Saiyids should occupy the western recess; the wise men and philosophers the southern; holy men and visionaries the northern; and the nobles and officers of state, who were in the habit of associating with these able men, should occupy the eastern recess.

The king himself sat so that all four parties might derive the greatest benefit from his presence. He gave orders that a selection should be made from the most eminent of these four bodies to occupy the places nearest to his person, and to them he distributed with his own hand handfuls of Rupees and Gold-mohurs. Those who were not fortunate enough to receive donations from his own hand, were honored on the next morning, as they sat in groups on the outside, with befitting presents in money. This distribution used to last till mid-day on Friday.

If the king, on account of ill-health or anxiety, was unable to superintend this himself, he used to appoint some substitute, in whom he had particular confidence, to make the usual distribution. May God bless these pious and liberal actions, which no king has ever yet performed, and may they redound to the eternal honor and prosperity of his exalted majesty.

The 38th Ilahí year after the accession.

On the 15th Jamádu-s-sání, 1001 H. after the sun had entered Aries, the Nauroz festival of the 38th year of the reign commenced, and the usual ceremonies were observed upon the occasion; on the 9th of the Ilahí month Farwardín 1001 H. corresponding with the 24th of Jamádu-s-sání, Khán Khánán and Jání Beg, Ruler of Thatta, arrived at Court, kissed the threshold, and were received with every demonstration of honor and kindness. Sháh Beg Cábulí, who was called Khán Daurán, Ferídún Khán Birlás, Bakhtyár Beg, and other nobles who stood appointed to the army of Gujrát, and had accompanied the king, severally received an increase of allowances, Jágírs, and Mansabs.

About this time, the fort of Júnágarh and the country of Súrat fell under the king's dominion. Sultán Muzaffar Gujráti fled to Kankár, the chief of Cach, and obtained his protection. Khán A'zam invaded Kankár's dominions, and pillaged them, till at last Kankár was persuaded to seize Muzaffar Khán and send him a prisoner to Court. It was therefore agreed that Mírzá Abdulla, son of Khán A'zam, should go secretly with a small body of men to the place where Muzaffar was concealed, and seize him unawares.

When they were proceeding on this expedition, Muzaffar retired on a certain pretence, and, while absent, cut his throat with a razor, which he had about his person. His head was then cut off, and brought to Khán A'zam, who sent it to Court.

At this time, 120 elephants, which had come into the possession of Mán Sing, were sent by him to Court, and presented to his majesty. As ten years had elapsed since Khán A'zam had been to Court, a Firmán was despatched to summon him to the presence, directing that, as he had performed good service to the state, it was time he should come and receive his reward; but as that chief had always entertained the wish to proceed on a pilgrimage to the sacred cities, and his friends represented to him that the king was displeased with him, and merely sought an opportunity to imprison him, he placed his family and treasure on board a vessel, and on the 1st of Rajab set sail for Hejáz. When the king learnt this, he nominated Sháhzáda Murád to the government of Gujrát, and directed him to proceed thither from Málwa, and Muhammed Sádik, Khán, one of the grandees of the state, was sent as deputy to the prince;—the Sircárs of Barúch, Súrat and Baraúda being taken from Kilij Khán, and given to Muhammed Sadík Khán in Jágír.

On the 21st of Murdád, corresponding with the 14th of Zí-l-K'da 1001 H. Zein Khán Koká, and Asaf Khán, who had been sent to chastise the Afgháns of Swát and Bajaur, and to exterminate Jalálá and his brother Maudúd Alí, succeeded in accomplishing the latter object, and brought away these two chiefs prisoners, besides their families, and sent them to the king.

On the 4th of Shehriyúr, corresponding with the 29th of Zí-l-k'da, the governorship of Málwa was conferred upon Mírzá Sháh Rukh, and orders were given to release Sháhbáz Khán Kamboh, who had been imprisoned for the last three years, and he was sent to Málwa, to act as deputy to Mírzá Sháh Rukh.

On the 2nd of Muharram 1002 H. Mírzá Rustam Khán,—son of Sultán Husain Mírzá, son of Bahrám Mírzá, son of Sháh Ism'aíl Safví, king of Irán,—who was ruler of Zemíndáwar and the neighbouring districts, came to Court and paid his respects, accompanied by his family and relations. When he had arrived at the bank of the Chenáb, his majesty sent out Karáh Beg Turkmán with tents and carpets and furniture to meet him, and after him followed Hakím Einu-l-mulk with a waist-dagger studded with jewels. When the Mírzá had arrived within four coss of Lahore, Zein Khán and Khán Khánán were sent out to meet him, and when the interview with the king took place, the refugee prince was received with every kind of kingly hospitality, was presented with a crore of Tankas, and admitted to the dignity of 5000. Multán was also conferred upon him in Jágír.

About this time, the poet laureate, Sheikh Faizí, who had been dispatched on an embassy to Rájá Alí Khán and Burhánu-l-mulk Deccání, returned, and was received with great kindness. Mír Muhammed Amín of Mashhed, Mír Munír, and Khwájah Amínu-d-dín, who had all been deputed on similar special duty to the Deccan, returned to Court, and paid their respects. As Burhánu-

l-mulk had been elevated entirely through the kindness and protection of the king, and had received the greatest favors from him, as has already been shewn in its proper place, the king was annoyed at his sending an inferior present, consisting only of 15 pieces of coloured Deccan cloth and a few jewels, and as he had in other respects behaved in a disrespectful manner, the king was greatly grieved at his conduct. Accordingly, the vicegerent of God (the king) determined on an expedition to the Deccan, and on the 25th of Mihr, he appointed Prince Dániál to subdue that country, and Khán Khánán, Rái Sing, Rái Sal, Hakím Einu-l-mulk, the nobles of Málwa, and the Jágírdárs of the Súba of Ajmír and Delhi, were sent to co-operate with the Prince, and 70,000 horse were ordered on the same duty.

The king came out for the purpose of hunting and pitched his camp at Sultánpúr, on the bank of the river, thirty coss from Lahore, and Khán Khánán who had gone to Sírhind to pay his respects to Prince Dániál, was sent for by the king to be consulted on the subject of the expedition. He had an interview with his majesty near Sheikhpúr, and had frequent conferences on the subject of the Deccan, in one of which the king enquired whether that province could not be conquered without troubling the Prince to go there. Khán Khánán promised to undertake it in his own person, and instructions were therefore issued, that the army, which had been directed to accompany the Prince, should place themselves under the orders of Khán Khánán, and the Prince was summoned to Court, which he reached in two days. Khán Khánán, loaded with honors by the king, set out on his expedition, and his majesty, having broken up his hunting camp, and given his people leave to visit their homes, returned to Lahore. Khán Khánán set out with all haste, and arrived at Agra, and as the rainy season was approaching, and he had received orders to disburse pay from the Agra Treasury, and to lay in from the same source all the ammunition and military stores necessary for the conquest of the Deccan, he remained at Agra during the rains, and having supplied himself with every necessary he set out for Málwa, which was the Jagír of Mírzá Sháh Rukh, with whom he had an interview in Ujain. From Málwa he went to Khándes, and without proceeding to extremities, induced Rájá Alí Khán to declare his allegiance to the king. Khándes thus became included in the subject states, and the coin was struck, and the Khutba, read in the name of his majesty. Even Asír, which had baffled every attempt, fell at last under his sway. Khándes was given in Jágír to Rájá Alí Khán, and he was enrolled among the mansabdárs of 5000. Khán Khánán sent a request, accompanied by a suitable offering, to his majesty, that these orders might be confirmed, and that Rájá Alí Khán might be reckoned among the nobles, and be allowed to accompany

him to the Deccan. The king acceded to these proposals, and Khán Khánán was rewarded with fresh marks of his favor.

After the affair of Khándes was completed to his satisfaction, Khán Khánán set out on his expedition to the Deccan. His first step was to lay siege to Ahmednagar, and Chánd Bíbí, who was at that time ruler of that province, entered into negotiations, under which it was stipulated that the territory of Berár should be resigned to Akber.

On the second occasion, when he attached Ahmednagar, Soheil, the Abyssinian, was appointed by Ádil Sháh to the command of the army, and the armies of Nizámu-l-mulk, Ádil Khán, Kutbu-l-mulk and the Berídsháhí chief being placed under his command, he came out in considerable strength and confidence to oppose Khán Khánán, who with the little force at his command, performed such prodigies of bravery, as might have shamed even Rustam and Isfandiár. He obtained a complete victory over Soheil, and then proceeded to the siege of Ahmednagar, which he soon reduced and brought the whole province of the Deccan under the rule of the emperor. As the conquests of the Deccan, Khándes, and Berár have already been fully detailed in the life of Khán Khánán in this book, I beg to refer to it for further information. If I were here to commence an account of this commander's proceedings in the Deccan, it would extend to too great a length.

To be brief, the king reigned for 52 years over the whole of Hindústán, from Bengal to the extreme borders of Candahár, and Zemíndáwar, and even to the shores of the sea. All the stubborn chiefs, Rájás, Ráís, and Zemíndárs in Hindústán, including those of Gujrát, Sind, Deccan, Cashmír, Bengal, Málwa and other countries, were made, by means of the Khán Khánán, subject to his rule. Some, after defeat in action, some, under treaties of peace, were all in the end deprived of the exercise of independent sovereignty.

The author has extracted this account of the first 38 years of the reign, viz. from A. H. 963 to 1002, from the Tabakát-i-Akberí, by Nizámu-d-dín Ahmed Bakhshí. Of the remaining fourteen years the author has never seen any account; at least, as he has not been able to procure any, he has omitted that period from his history, and must, therefore, refer to other authorities who may have written concerning this period.

Akber was a world-subduing monarch, the very emblem of justice, to whose Court people from all sides resorted for protection, and to partake of a benevolence so universally diffused. He extended toleration to all religions and creeds, and would recognize no difference between their professors, his object being to unite all in a common bond of peace. The names of the Sultáns, nobles, ministers, poets, and philosophers who adorned his reign, can be ascertained from the Tabakát-i-Akberí and the Akbernáma; and

in the same comprehensive works will be found an account of his greatness, his inventions, his novel rules of administration,—all exhibiting a fertile and ready genius.

During his entire reign of 52 years, no neighbouring Prince of Hindústan made an incursion into his territories, and notwithstanding that the Afghán kings are notorious for their malignity and turbulence, they were not able to move their feet during his supremacy, so that all quarters were subject to his sword, the very signal of victory. Whoever dared to lift his head from the level of loyalty and subjection never escaped with his life.

Akber died at Agra on the 23rd Jamádu-l-awwal A. H. 1014, and the date of his death was found to be represented by the letters composing "the death of Akber Shah."

This work is not common in India. There is one copy at Lahore, in two volumes, which is an abridgement, rather than the entire work. The copy which the Asiatic Society possesses constitutes one of the most valuable manuscripts of its collection. It was transcribed in a legible *nasta'lík* hand under the author's own superintendence, and contains revisions and marginal additions in his own handwriting. It purports to have been sent as a present to his friend, Khwájah Sultán Muhammed Isfahání, in the year 1026 H., and afterwards to have been received from him again, and presented in 1041 H. to Kází 'Abdu-l-azíz. The author states that this MS. has not undergone the careful revision he could wish, and that a complete history of the kings of the Deccan is wanting, which he hopes to supply some future day.

The size and contents of the volume are shown above.

Initial lines :—

حمد وثنا نه در خور این حوصلهاست وستایش وسپاس چه حد هرمدرك وصاحب ذکاست حمدرا دلی باید خالي ازوسواس وستایش را زباني حقیقت آساس عالم توحید عالمیست ربّاني عرصه تحمید مقامیست رحماني کا رزبان دانان درین راه بی زباني و شغل دانایان درین عالم نادانی *

Final lines, added in the author's hand-writing :—

چون راقم در بعضی محل نزدیکي و قرب را منظور داشته و در برخي مقدمات مدار برحالت و استعداد آنجماعت نهاده و در باب جمعي نیز اصالترا منظور داشته است اگر در نظرها قسمی دیگر جلوه نماید دور نیست وکلیه آنست که بی تکلفي را منظور داشته بطریقی که رویداده ثبت شده و ترتیب را مفتقر نشده و مقید نبوده امیدوار بدرگاه واهب العطایا چنان است که نام نامي و دولت باقي این سپه سالار نامدار و فرزندان کامگار و این گرامي نسخه تا قیام قیامت پاینده و مستدام باد بحق النون والصاد *

XXXI.

انفع الاخبار

ANFAU-L-AKHBA'R.

This work is of much the same historic character as the last. It is in a more abridged form, but is devoted to the eulogies of a patron, and their publication appears to have been one of the chief objects contemplated in the undertaking.

The author, Muhammed Amín, son of Daulat Muhammed-al-Husainí-al-Balikí, was in the service of Nawwáb Sipahdár Khán, who receives an enlarged and laudatory notice at the close of the work. He concluded it in A. H. 1036, and styled it *Anfáu-l-Akhbar*, "The most useful chronicle," because the year is represented by the letters composing those words. He resided chiefly at Ahmednagar, on which account he often notices this city; and its buildings, gardens, and history receive a large share of notice.

This history is divided into a Preface, ten Books and a Conclusion.

CONTENTS.

Preface.—Containing the usual lauds: pp. 1—6.
Book I.—The early prophets: pp. 7—100.
II.—The early philosophers: pp. 100—104.
III.—The early kings of Persia: pp. 114—135.
IV.—The prophet Muhammed: pp. 136—138.

V.—The four first Khalifs and twelve Imáms: pp. 138—144.
VI.—The Ummaiyide Khalifs: pp. 144—146.
VII.—The 'Abbáside Khalifs: pp. 146—150.
VIII.—The dynasties contemporary with, and subsequent to, the 'Abbáside Khalifs, viz. Táherides,—Sámánians, Búyides or Deilemites,—Isma'ílians,—Seljúkians,—Ghorians,—and others: pp. 150—190.
IX.—The sons of Japhet: pp. 191—218.
X.—The dynasty of Timúr.

The following are the rubrics of the tenth Book.

Accession of Khákán Sa'íd Sháhrukh, Sultán, to the throne of Khorásán.—Mírzá 'Aláu-d-dau-lah ascends the throne, and the death of Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf in the year 857, H.—Mírzá Mughísu-d-dín Alagh Beg Gúrgán crosses the river.—March of Mírzá Abu-l-Kásim Báber to Khorásán.—Disagreement between Mírzá 'Aláu-d-daulah and Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf.—Enmity between Mírzá Alagh Beg and Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf; and the death of the king.—A brief account of Mírzá Sultán Muhammed.—March of Mírzá Bállá.—Mírzá 'Abdu-l-latíf killed, and the accession of Mírzá 'Abdu-l-lah to the throne of Samarkand.—Mírzá 'Abdu-l-lah Shírázi killed—and Sultán Sa'íd ascends the throne.—March of Mírzá Báber towards Balkh.—Mírzá 'Aláu-d-daulah seized.—Mírzá Sultán Muhammed.—Mírzá Báber proceeds towards Asterábád.—Mírzá Báber departs for Mashhed.—Mírzá Sháh Mahmúd, and certain events of his time.—Arrival of Sultán Sa'íd at Khorásán.—March of Mírzá Ibráhím to Mázenderán, and his defeat by Mirzá Jehán Sháh Turkomán.—Visit of Mírzá Jehán Sháh to the capital of Khákán Sa'íd, and his peace with him.—Fight of Sultán Sa'íd with Mírzás Ibráhím, 'Aláu-d-dau-lah and Sanjar.—Arrival of Ámír Khalíl to besiege Herát.—March of Sultán Sa'íd towards Turkistán.—A brief account of Mírzá Jehán Sháh Turkomán.—March of Sultán Sa'íd from Asterábád.—The Khorásání troops defeated, and Sultán Sa'íd Gúrgán killed.—Accession of Sultán Husain Bahádar Khán to the throne.—Several events related in a concise manner.—March of Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed with the design of conquest, and his defeat by the royal army.—The king marches against Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed.—Accession of Mírzá Yádgár Muhammed to the throne of Khorásán.—The king proceeds in the direction of the garden Zághán, and Mírzá Yádgár killed.—Re-accession of the king to the throne of Khorásán.—The events which occurred after his accession to the throne of Khorásán. Death of Mírzá Sultán Husain, and the joint succession of Badí'u-z-zamán Mírzá and Mírzá Muzaffar Husain to the throne of Khorásán, and several other events.—A summary account of the tribe of Ak-Kúinlú who ruled in Azarbáíján, Fárs, the two Iráks, and Kirmán.—A brief account of the Uzbek kings who ruled in

Máwaru-n-nahr and Khorásán subsequent to 900 A. H.—Safví kings.—Conquests of Irák, Persia, and Kirmán.—Fall of Baghdád, and flight of Sultán Murád.—Conquest of Khúzistán.—The territories of Khorásán conquered, and Shahí Beg Khán killed.—A brief account of Amír Yár Muhammed Isfahání. Arrival of Sultán Selím, king of Rúm, in Irán.—Death of the king.—Accession of Sháh Tahmás, son of Sháh Isma'íl. —Zahíru-d-dín Muhammed Báber.—Accession of Humaiyún. —Capture of the fort of Champánír.—Sultán Bahádar.—The events which befel the king after his arrival at Agra. —Retreat of the king towards Irán, and several events which occurred at that time.—Return of the king from Irán towards Hindústán.—March of the king from Cábul in the direction of India, with the design of conquest.—Death of the king in Rabí-u-l-awwal 963 A. H.—Account of certain excellent men.—Biography of Muhammed Akber, from the beginning of the first up to the fifty-first year of his reign.—An account of Jehángír. Account of the king and certain events which occurred at that time.—Sultán Khusrú fights, is defeated, and seized.—Return of Sultán Parvez from the Deccan and arrival of Sultán Khurram according to the summons of the king.—Rupture of engagements, and recurrence of the insurrection of Malik Amber in the Déccan. —Disaffection of Sultán Khurram.—An account of Sultán Khurram after his arrival in Bengal.—Settlement of the affairs of the Deccan and march of the army to Bengal.—Misfortunes which occurred after the departure of prince Sultán Parvez.—Fight of Sultán Parvez and Mahábat Khán with Sultán Khurram.—Submission of Malik Amber.—Certain transactions related in a succint manner.—pp. 218—446.

Conclusion.—Account of Sipahdár Khán.—The peace of God rest on him and may his life be prolonged! pp. 446—482.

Size.—Small Quarto, containing 482 pages, and 17 lines in each page.

Extracts.

The forty-ninth, fiftieth, and fifty-first years of the reign of Akber, were marked by the following events, viz.:

In the year 1012 A. H. prince Sultán Selím was imprisoned in a bath, on the very day on which His Royal Highness, repenting of his actions, presented himself to the king, availing himself of the opportunity which the death of his grandmother, Mariam Macání affording him of offering his condolences to his majesty. —He was however after a space of twelve days released. This year is also marked by the arrival from the Deccan of the news of the death of Sultán Dániál. In the year 1013 A. H. the king (Akber) was taken ill. On Friday the 12th of Jamádius-s-sání 1014 A. H. he died at Agra, and was interred in Sikandra. "It is God alone who will exist for ever."

This king never sustained a defeat at any place. His army was

victorious in every engagement. He subjugated all nations, some by means of arms and some by friendly treaties of peace. The blessings of good government were extended to every quarter of this extensive empire. All people of every description and station came to his court, and all their enmities having been reconciled by his mediation, they were secure from anxiety. Be it not concealed that this account of his happy reign does not form even one-tenth part of the transactions which actually occurred in it or contain the praises due to it.—The detailed particulars of his reign are recorded in the Akbernáma and the Táríkh-i-Nizámí.—God be praised that the distress which the people experienced at the loss of their sovereign Akber, was removed by the accession of his excellent and powerful son, Jehángír. May this exalted Dynasty maintain its power till the day of judgment, under the auspices of the prophet and his glorious descendants!

* * * * * *

A brief account follows of the events which occurred in the year 1036 H. viz:—

On the return of Mahábat Khán from the Deccan, by command of the king, His Majesty commenced his march on Cáshmír. On the way a dispute arose between Mahábat Khán and Ásaf Khán, son of I'timádu-d-daulah, and brother of Núr Jehán Begam. It took so serious a turn, that they at last came to action, drawing up their troops in battle array. Mahábat Khán gained the victory, and Ásaf Khán fled to the fort of Attak Benáres, where he fortified himself.. The victorious party besieged him, and after a few days succeeded in obtaining possession of his person, when they took him to their master, who threw him into prison. These circumstances gained Mahábat Khán such influence at Court, that no one without his authority could go near the king, and even his food and drink was subject to inspection. Mahábat Khán also appointed his own obedient Rájpúts to remain in constant attendance day and night on the king, thereby cutting off every one from direct communication with His Majesty. The matter stood upon this footing for about six months, when a party of Moghuls being collected through the exertions and dexterity of the wise Núr Jahán Begam, marched against Mahábat Khán, put nearly three thousand of his Rájpúts to death, and effected the release of Ásaf Khán. Mahábat Khán being thus defeated, took to flight. Khán Khánán was sent by the king to pursue and exterminate him, but while engaged on the expedition, Khán Khánán died, and Mahábat Khán has in consequence been suffered still (i. e. the close of the year 1036 H.) to wander about with a small body of adherents.

Sultán Khurram remains in the Deccan under the same circumstances as have been already mentioned. We must wait to see what may happen to him hereafter, and what game the hero (his chessman) will play behind the curtain of futurity.

This year is also marked by the death of Prince Parvez in the city of Burhánpúr. The date of the death of that excellent Prince is found in the following chronogram, composed by Maulánà Samadí Búánátí, viz. "The king of kings has departed from this world."

In this year Nizámu-l-mulk created a disturbance in the Deccan, which however was put down by the exertions of Khán Jehán. A detail of this transaction will be found in the concluding part of this work.

At the present time, i. e. the latter part of the year 1036 H. the people of this country, whether rich or poor, high or low, are in the enjoyment of all the blessings of comfort and content, and slumbering secure from all danger, are in return offering up their prayers to the Almighty God for the continued prosperity of the king, who is the safeguard of the empire and the shadow of God.

The Conclusion.

The concluding part of this book contains an account of Sipahdár Khán; may the peace of God be on him! The object of giving an account of him in this work is that his memory may descend to posterity. Be it not concealed that his birth place is Tabrez, and his ancestors were reckoned among the nobles of that country. His name is Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh. In the year 1000 H. he left Irán for Hindústán, in company with the late Khwájah Beg Mírzá, son of Ma'súm Beg Safví, whose excellent qualities cannot be adequately described. The relations of friendship and amity which subsisted between them were exceedingly strong.

Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh, after his arrival in India obtained the honor of an interview with His Majesty. Mansabs suitable to his dignity, as well as the government of the Súbáh of Gujrát, were conferred on him, time after time. While in Gujrát, he saw in a dream a white flag so lofty that it penetrated the very heavens; at one time it went towards his right hand, at another towards the left; and then, shortly after, it left that position, and came and stood opposite to him, and then, on approaching him, began to bend down towards him, when he seized hold of it with his hand and again placed it in an erect posture; upon which, he woke from his dream. Since the time that he had this auspicious dream, he began to prosper day by day, so that he attained at length the dignity of the Governor of Gujrát, but the height of the flag presages to him, according to the interpretation of the dream, even a higher dignity than that which he has yet attained. He was constantly in the habit of relating this dream to intelligent persons. "There is a dignity yet greater than thine and thy dignity at every period is not always the same. Wait till the dawn of fortune cometh to thee, as these are the mere harbingers of that dawn. The dignity which thou hast attained is very low,

when compared with that which Fate yet ordains for thee in its full accomplishment."

In the year 1003 H. Prince Sultán Murád marched towards the Deccan by order of the king, where Khwájah Beg Mírzá and Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh paid their respects to him. Upon the death of Prince Sultán Murád in the Deccan, Prince Dániál, as has already been mentioned in its proper place, went to that province and captured the fort of Ahmednagar, which was the Capital of Nizámu-l-mulk. The government of that country was conferred upon Khwájah Beg Mírzá and Mírzá Muhammed Sáleh. These two great men have resided in this country for a long period, during which they have conferred many kindnesses, obligations and comforts upon the people, as will shortly appear in the sequel.

This work is probably unique. I know of only one copy, and that is an autograph of the author, transcribed in Muharram 1037, only a few months after the composition of the original. This MS. belongs to Nawwáb Shamshír Kadr of Lakhnau.

The Anfa'u-l-Akhbár commences thus :—

انفع وزبده کلمات راویان اخبار انبیاء عالیمقدار و نقاوه منشاء و اقفان آثار سلاطین ذوی الاقتدار حمد خالقی است که از خزانه اعطی کل شی خلقه هریک از احاد کائینات را بخلعت خلقی موصوف ساخت و از کرامتی بنواخت *

and concludes with a benediction on the author's patron :—

جمعی کثیر از سادات رفیع درجات و علمای عظام و مشائخ کرام و اهل فضل و استعداد همیشه درظل مراحم و اشفاق آن یگانه افاق باسودگی زیست مینمایند از انعامات و خیرات ایشان طوایف آنام من الخواص و العوام مخلوط و بهره وراند امید که سایه مرحمت مستدام بالنبی و اله العظام و السلام *

منتخب از کتاب جامع التواریخ رشیدی

ذکر احوال سلطان جلال الدین در هندوستان

سلطان چون از غرقاب آب و آتش خلاص یافت و قرب ده کس که روزگار ایشانرا فرا آب نداده بود بدو متصل شدند تواری و اختفا دربیشه پیشه گرفت پنجاه مرد دیگر بدو پیوستند خبر یافت که جمعی از زنود هنود سوار و پیاده بر دو فرسنگی اینجا مقام دارند و بعبث و فجور مشغول اصحابرا فرمود تا هریک چوبدستی بریدند و ناگاه برسر ایشان شبیخون راندند چنانکه اکثررا هلاك کردند و چهار پایان و اسلحه غنیمت گرفت و بعضی شتر سوار و بعضی نرگاو سوار ملحق شدند خبر آوردند که از لشکرهای هند دو سه هزار مرد هنود درین حدود اند سلطان با صد و بست مرد بر ایشان دوید و خلقی ازان هنود بر تیغ هندی گذرانید و مردمت اصحاب و افواج خود ازان غنایم ساخت چون خبر قوت و انتعاش حال سلطان درهند فاش شد از کوه بلاله و نکاله خلقی جمع شدند و در حد پنج شش هزار سوار بر سلطان تاختن آورد سلطان با سوار پانصد مصادف مصاف شد و جنود هنود را پراگنده کرد و از جوانب شداد افراد و امداد اجناد روی بسلطان نهادند تا در حد سه چهار هزار مرد بخدمت سلطان متصل شدند خبر

جمعیت او ببادشاه جهانگیر رسید هنوز در حدود غزنین
بود لشکری بدفع او نامزد فرمود چون از آب بگذشتند
سلطانرا قوت مقاومت ایشان نمانده بود متوجه دهلي شد
مغولان نیز چون آوازه انهزام سلطان بشنیدند باز گشتند
و حدود ملک غور را غارت کردند سلطان چون بحدود دهلي رسید
رسولی را باعلام وصول خویش پیش سلطان شمس الدین
فرستاد و التماس تعین موضعي کرد که روزی چند مقام
تواند ساخت ایلچي را آنجا نیست کرد و ایلچي با نزلها فرستاد
و عذر موضع ببهانه آنکه درین جدود هوای موافق طبع
سلطان نیست چون این پیغام بسلطان رسید باز گشت و با
بلاله و نکاله آمد ازجوانب گریختگان بدو متصل مي گشتند
تا جمعیت او بحد ده هزار رسید ناگاه تاج الدین ملک خلج را
با لشکری بکوه جودی فرستاد پیش رای کوکار سکنین و خطبه
دختر او کرد اجابت نمود و پسر را با لشکر بخدمت سلطان
فرستاد سلطان پسر اورا بقتلغ خاني موسوم کرد و قباجه
امیری بود از بندگان بادشاهان غور و ولایت سند بحکم
او بود و دم سلطنت میزد و میان او و رای کوکار سکنین
مخاصمتی و مخاشنتی بود سلطان لشکری بقصد قباجه
فرستاد مقدم لشکر اوزبک بائي و قباجه بر کنار آب سنه
بریک فرسنگي اوجه لشکرگاه داشت با بست هزار مرد
اوزبک بائي با هفت هزار مرد ناگاه شبخون بسر او برد
لشکر قباجه منهزم و متفرق شدند و قباجه در کشتي
باکرو بکر دو قلعه داشت در جزیره رفت و اوزبک بائي
بلشکرگاه فرود آمد وانچه یافت اسیر گرفت و بشارت سلطان
فرستاد سلطان حرکت فرمود و هم بان معسکر ببارگاه قباجه
فرود آمد و قباجه از اکر و بکر منهزم بملتان شد سلطان

ایلچي فرستاد و پسر و دختر امیر خانرا که از مصاف آب سند گریخته بودند آنجا افتاده باز خواست کرد و مال طلبید قباجه آن حکمرا منقاد شد. و پسر و دختر امیرخانرا با مال بسیار بخدمت سلطان فرستاد و التماس نمود که ولایات او را تعرض نرساند و چون هوا گرم شد از اوجه عزم بابلاغ کوه جودي با بلاله و کلاله کرد و در راه قلعهٔ بسرام محاصره کرده دران جنگ تیری بر دست سلطان آمد و مجروح شد القصه قلعه بگرفتند و تمامت اهالي آن قلعه را بکشتند آنجا خبر توجه عساکر مغول بطلب او برسید مراجعت کرد روزي بظاهر ملتان بود ایلچي بقباجه فرستاد و از مرور اعلام داد و نعل بها خواست قباجه ابا کرد و عصیان ظاهر و بمصاف اقدام نمود بعد ازانکه ساعت حالش سلطان توقف نفرمود اهل اوجه عصیان کردند سلطان آتش در شهر زد و بر جانب سدوسان برفت فخرالدین سالاری که از قبل قباجه حاکم سدوسان بود و لاچین ختای بر سر لشکر او بود لشکر پیش اوخان که مقدم سلطان بود آورد لاچین در جنگ کشته شد اوخان شهر سدوسان را محصور کرد چون سلطان برسید فخرالدین سالاری بتضرع با شمشیر و گریبان پیش سلطان در شهر فرو آمد و یکماه آنجا قیام کرد فخرالدین سالاری را تشریف داد و حکومت سدوسان را بر و مقرر داشت و بجانب دیول و دمریله نهضت کرد حسن که حاکم آن ولایت بود بگریخت و بکشتي بدریا رفت سلطان بحدود دیول و دمریله فرو آمد و خاص خانرا با لشکری بجانب نهرواله فرستاد از نهرواله غنایم و اسیر بسیار آوردند سلطان بحدود دیول و دمریله فرو آمد و در دیول مسجد جامع بنا فرمود موازي بتخانه *

فصل چهارم * در معرفت زمینها و شهرها و ولایت و قصبات و بعضی جزایر و مردم آنجا

بموجبی که در مقدمه تقدیم یافت ممالک هندوستان سه قسم کرده اند و زعم اهل هند آنست که ملک هندوستان نه کانه از ملک ایران زمین بزرگتر است و درمیانه سه اقالیم افتاده غربی آن از اقالیم سوم است و شرقی آن از اقالیم اول و بیشتری آن در اقلیم دوم افتاده و واسطه ملک مددیس خوانند یعنی واسطة الممالک و اهل فرس انرا قنوج گویند و این نام جهت مکانیت از برای انکه مابین بحور و جبال و حرور و صرود و حد شرقی و مغربی افتاده است و دار الملک بادشاهان معظم و جابره و ماردة و فراغنه هند است و زمین سند بر غربی آن افتاده و از زمین نیم‌روز یعنی دیار سجستان و دیار ایران متوجه هندوستان شدن ممر بر زمین کابل افتد و شهر قنوج بر غربی آب کنک افتاده است و مسافت میان هردو سه روزه راه باشد و ممالک قنوج مشهور باولاد و اعقاب پاندوانست همچنانکه مدینه ماهوره ببسدیو معروف و مشهور است و بر شرقی شهر جون افتاده بعد مسافت ما بین هردو بست و هفت فرسنگ و ملک تهانیسر بین النهرین بر شمال آنجا افتاده و از قنوج قریب هفتاد فرسنگ دور است و از ماهوره پنجاه فرسنگ و آب گنک از منابع گنگ دوار بیرون می آید و اکثر شهرهای هندرا آب میدهد و اما مسافت بعد میان شهرهای ایشان اگر کسی مشاهده نکرده باشد مخول بر اخبار باید کرد و حینئذ آغاز از قنوج کنیم بطرف جنوب ما بین نهر جون و گنگ بموضعی رسد که بجمو معروف است بر دوازده فرسنگی هر فرسنگی عبارت از چهار میل *

منتخب من تصنيف ابن خورداذبه

ملوك الهند واهلها يحلّون الزنا و يحرّمون الشراب غير ملك قمار فانّه يحرم الزنا و الشراب و ملك سرنديب يحمل اليه الخمر من العراق و يشربه و ملوك الهند ترغب ارتفاع منزل الفيله و يزيد في اثمانها الذهب الكثير ارفعها تسع اذرع الا فيلة الاعناب فانها عشر واجدى عشر ذراعاً و اعظم ملوك الهند بلهرا و تفسيره ملك الملوك ونقشة خاتم من ودّك لا ميرولّى مع انقضائه و بعده ملك الطافه و بعده ملك الخزر وله الدراهم الطاهريه و بعده عابه و بعده رهمي و بينه و بين هولاء مسيرة سفينة و ذكروان له خمس الف فيل وله الثياب القطنية و العود الهندي ثم بعده ملك قامرون يتصل ملكه منذ بصين و في هذا البلد الذهب الكثير و ببلده الكركوز طريق من جانب الفارس الى المشرق من الابله الى جزيرة خارك خمسين فرسخ وهي فرسخ في فرسخ و بها ذرع و نخل و كرم و منها الى جزيرة لابن ثمانون فرسخان وهي فرسخان في فرسخين بها ذرع و نخل ثم الى جزيرة ابرون سبعة فرسخ وهي فرسخ في فرسخ بها ذرع و نخل ثم الى جزيرة چين سبعة فرسخ وهي نصف فرسخ في مثله لا ساكن فيها ثم الى جزيرة كثير سبعة فرسخ وهي اربعة فرسخ في مثلها ذرع و نخل وما شبه و بها غوص اللؤلؤ الجيد ثم الى جزيرة ابركاوان ثمانية عشر فرسخ وهي ثلاث فرسخ في مثلها و اهلها لمسيراة اباضية و من جزيرة ابركاوان الى ارمون سبعة فرسخ ثم الى نار مسيرا سبعة ايام وهو الحد بين فارس و السند و من نار مسيرا الى

الديبل ثمانية ايام ومن الديبل الى المنصب نهر مهران من البحر فرسخان ومن السند يحيى القسط والقنا والخيزران ومن مهران الى بكر وهي اول ارض الهند مسيرة اربعة ايام وفي هذه الارض ينبت القنا جبالها والذرع في اوديها واهلها عباديده لصوص ومنها على ٢ فرسخ الميذ لصوص ومنها الى كول ٢ فرسخ ومن كول الى سندان ١٨ فرسخ وبها ساج وقنا ومن سندان الى ملى مسيرة خمس ايام وبها الفلفل والقنا ومن ملى الى بلبن مسيرة يومين ثم اللجة العظيمة مسيرة يومين ومن بلبن تفترق الطريق في البحر فمن اخذ على الساحل من بلبن الى باس مسيرة يومين وهي بلاد ومنها مسيرة سراند يب ومن باس الى السجي وغسكان مسيرة يومين وفيها ارز ومنها الى كورا فنصف فرسخ فزيد ثلاثة فرسخ ومنها الى كنكان والملوا وكنجه مسيرة يومين وفيها حنطة وارز ويحمل اليها العود من مسيرة يوم في ماء عذب من كامول وغيرها ومن سمندر الى اورسير ١٢ فرسخا وهي مملكة عظيمة فيها افيلة ودواب وجوا ميش وامتعة كثيرة وملكها عظيم القدر ومن اورسير الى اينة مسيرة اربعة ايام وفيها افيلة ايضاً والجميز والهند سبعة اجناس سامكفريه وفيهم اشرافهم وفيهم الملك يسجدلهم الاجناس كلها ولا يسجد لاحد غيره والبراهمة لا يشربون الخمر والانبذة والكتريه يشربون ثلثة اقداح فقط ولا تزوجهم البراهمة وتزوجون فيهم والسودريه وهم اصحاب الذرع والبسيرة وهم اصحاب الصناعات والمهن والصندالیه وهم اصحاب المهم واللحود وفي نسائهم الزينة وهم اصحاب لهو ومعارف وملك الهند اثنان واربعون ملة ومنهم من عبد الخالق والرسل عليهم السلام ومنهم التنافي للرسل ومنهم التنافي خالق *

منتخب من كتاب اشكال البلاد

واما بلاد السند وما يضافها مما قد جمعناه في صورة واحدة. فهي بلاد السند وشيء من بلاد الهند ومكران وطوران والبدهه وشرقي ذلك كله بحر فارس وغربيه كرمان ومفازة سجستان. واعمال سجستان وشماليه بلاد الهند وجنوبيه مفازة بين مكران والقفص ومن ورائها بحر فارس وانما صار بحر فارس يحيط فارس الشرقي هذه البلاد والجنوبي من وراء هذه المفازة من اجل ان البحر تمد من صيمور على الشرقي الى بحر بين مكران. ثم معطف على هذه المفازة الى ان يقوس على بلاد كرمان وفارس والذي ارتفع من المدن في هذه البلاد من ناحيه مكران تيز كبرو قبزيون ودرك واسل وهي مدينة الخروج وبه. ونند وقصر قند واصفقه وفهلفهره ومسلي ويسلي وارمايل واما طوران فان مدنها مجالي وكنيكانان وسورة وقصدار واما البدهه فان مدينها طندانيا اما مدن السند فان المنصوره واسمها بالسندة مامبوان والربيل والسرون وفالدوابري وبلذي والمسراهي والهروج وبانيه ومنجابري وسدوسان والدور واما مدن الهند فهي بابهل ولنبانه وسورباره وسبدان وصيمور والملتان وخدراور وبسمت فهذه من مدن هذه البلاد التي عرفناها ومن كتباته الى صيمور من بلد بلهرا لبعض ملوك الهند وهي بلاد كفر الا ان هذه المدن بنها المسلمون ولا يلي عليهم من قبل بلهرا الا مسلم وبها مساجد يجمع فيها الجماعات ومدينة بلهرا التي يقيم فيها ما نكيروله مملكة عريضة والمنصورة مدينة مقدارها في الطول والعرض نحو من ميل في ميل ويحيطها

خلج من مهران و هي في شبيه بالجزيرة و اهلها مسلمون و ملكهم من قريش يقال لدنبه من ولد هباد بن الاسود قد تغلب عليها هو و اجداده الاان خطبه بها للخليفة و هي مدينة حارة بها نخيل و ليس لهم عنب و لا تفاح و لا تمر و لا جوز و لهم قصب سكر و بارضهم ثمره على قدر التفاح سما الممونه حامض شديد الحموضة و لهم فاكهة شبه الخوخ سمونها الاثبج يقارب طعم الخوخ و اسعارهم رخصية و فيها حصب و نقودهم العابهريات مثل درهم نحو خمسة دراهم ولهم درهم يقال له الطاطري في الدرهم وزن درهم و ثلثين و يعا ملون دنانير ايضاً وزيهم زي اهل العراق الا ان زي ملوكهم يقارب زي ملوك الهند من السراويل و القراطق و اما الملتان فهي مدينة نحو نصف المنصورة و يسما برخ بيت الذهب و بها صنم يعظمه الهند و يحج اليه من اقاصى بلدانها و يتقرب الى هذا الصنم في كل سنة بمال عظيم ينفق على بيت الصنم والعاكفين عليه منهم وسميت الملتان بهذا الصنم و بيت هذا الصنم قصير مبني في اعمر موضع بسوق الملتان بين سوق العاجين وصف الصفايين في وسط هذا القصير بنية و الصنم فيها و حوالى القبة يسكنها خدم هذا الصنم و من يعكف عليه و ليس بالملتان من الهند و السند الذين يعبدون الاوثان غير هولاء الذين هم في هذا القصر مع الصنم و هذا الصنم صورة على خلقة الانسان متربع على كرسي من جص واجر و الصنم قد لبس جميع جسده جلد يشبه السخيتان احمر حتى لا تبين من جسمه شيئ الا عيناه فمنهم من يزعم ان بدنه خشب و منهم من يزعم انه من غير الخشب الا انه لا تنزل بدنه ينكشف و عيناه جوهران و على راسه اكليل ذهب قدمه ذراعيه على ركبتيه وقد قبض اصابع كل يده كما يحسب اربعة *

منتخب از تاریخ بناکتي

و زمین هندوستان درمیان سه اقلیم افتاده است شرقي آن از اقلیم اول و غربي آن از اقلیم سوم و اکثر ممالک هندوستان در اقلیم دوم است و ولایت قنوج درمیان بحور و جبال افتاده است و دارالملک بادشاهان معظم هند است و زمین سند بر غربي آن افتاده از دیار ایران متوجه هندوستان شدن ممر بر زمین کابل افتد و شهر قنوج بر غرب آب گنگ افتاده است که از شهر ترنه از کوههای شرقي مي آید و دارالملک شهرباري است که در جانب شرقي گنگ افتاده و مساحت میان هر دو سه روزه راه باشد و ممالک قنوج مشهور باولاد و اعقاب پاندوان است چنانکه مدینه ماهوره ببسدیو معروف است و بر شرقي شهر جون افتاده بعد مسافت میان هر دو بست و هفت فرسنگ است و ملک تهانیسر بین النهرین بر شمال انجا افتاده و از قنوج قریب هشتاد فرسنگ دور است و از ماهوره پنجاه فرسنگ و آب گنگ اکثر شهرهای هند را آب مي دهد اگر مسافر خواهد بر سبیل سیاحت که از جزیره ساحل فارس قیس نام از دریای هند بگذرد و بدریای چین رود شهرهای که بریمین ساحل افتاده اند و سر عرب معروف نخست بحرین است و ماهي رویان و حله و تاوه و الحسا و قطیف و همچنین مي رود تا عمان و ظفار و عدن که فرضه ساحل اعراب است و انجا مي کشد تا شهر معدشو که بر ساحل حبشه و زنکبار افتاده و در سنه ستین و ستمائیة مسلمان شدند

بادشاهی معین ندارند در هر محلتی شیخی مقدم و سرور باشد عنبر و عاج و ابنوس و پوست پلنگ و بربری ازانجا آرند و در جزایر انجا فیل بسیار باشد ازانجا گذشته ولایت زنگبار و حبشه است اهالی حبشه مسلمانند و بعضی ترسا و یک حد او بصعید الاعلی مصر پیوسته ازانجا گذشته بحر محیط است با قطب جنوبی که درانجا دیگر جزایر نیست اما ولایتی که از بسیار سیاح است از قیس نخست شهر هرمز است و بر ممر آن ساحل تیز و مکران است که از مضاف کرمان است تا قریب یکماه راه بپای دیول رسند که واسطه است میان ممالک ایران و هندوستان ازان همه ولایت اوجه و ملتان است که از جمله ممالک دهلی است ازانجا گذشته راهی ببر می رود و راهی دیگر بر سواحل بحر و گوجرات که مملکتی عظیم و ازانجا بکنبایت و سومنات و کنکن و تانه چنان تقریر میکنند که مجموع بلاد گوجرات هفتاد هزار پاره شهر و دیه است تمامی معمور و اهالی آن غریق نعمت و سرور در فصول اربعه دران دیار هفتاد نوع گلهای رنگین ببار آید *

شعر

دی و بهمن اذر و فروردین همیشه پر از لاله بینی زمین
هوا خوش گوار و زمین پر نگار نه گرم و نه سرد و همیشه بهار
در سالی دو نوبت اثمار زمین بردارند و مردم آنجا بت پرست باشند و سومنات که نام صنم آنجا خانه معبود و جای مسجود جمله دیار هند است و ازانجا گذاشته کنکن و تانه است وازانجا بملیبار روند و ملیبار از حد کهور تا خط کولم سیصد فرسنگ است جمله معدن تنبول است بعضی ازان در بر است و بعضی ازان ساحل شهرهای ساحل نخست سندا پور است انگاه

فاکنور انگاه منجرور و بعد ازان ولایت هیلي انگاه ولایت فندرنیا انگاه دیارجنگلي و ازانجا ولایت کولم مردم آن ولایت همه سمني باشند یعنی بت پرست و بعد ازان سوالک دیاراست که مجموع آن صد و بست و پنجهزار پاره شهر ودیه است و بعد ازان مالوا که عبارت از هزار هزار و هشتصد و نود و سه هزار در تعداد آمده است و قریب پنجاه سال باشد که بادشاه مالوا نماند و میان پسر او و وزیر منازعت افتاد و هریکی طرفی ازان ممالک گرفتند و دشمنان مجال مداخلت یافتند و اما معبر عرصه آن ازحد زمین کولم تا خطه نیلاور قریب سیصد فرسنگ سواحل همچنین شهرها و دیهها دارد و ایشان بادشاه خودرا دیور گویند یعنی خداوند دولت همیشه طرایف اقصای چین و ماچین و بلاد هندوستان بسفاین بزرگ که آنرا بزبان چیني جنگ گویند کامثال الجبال تجري بجناح الریاح علی سطوح المیاه باینجا متواصل باشد و اله نفیس ان بلاد لالان و عقا قیر و غیرها و از بحر آن لولو فراوان می خیزد و معبر بمثابت کلید هند است و درین چند سال دیورسندر بندي بود و ملک تقی الدین عبد الرحمان پسر محمد الطبي برادر شیخ جمال الدین ابراهیم وزیر و مشیر و صاحب تدبیر او بود وحکومت فتن و منکي بتن و قابل بوی آرزاني داشت و درشهور سنه اثنی و تسعین و ستمائته هجري دیور وفات یافت وخزاین عالم با اضداد و حساد گذاشت از شیخ ابراهیم بن محمد الطبي روایت است که هفت هزار سرکاو محمول بجواهر ابدار و زرسایر سبیل میراث به بردارش رسید و قایم مقام شد برقرار سابق تقی الدین نایب او شد و اهل معبر بغایت سیاه باشند چه بخط استوا نزدیک است و در معبر بتخانه عظیم است *

منتخب از تاریخ گزیده

حال سلطان محمود

مآثر او از آفتاب مشهور تراست و مساعي او درکار دین از شرح و وصف مستغني کتاب يمني و مقامات ابو نصر مسکاتي و مجلدات ابو الفضل البيهقي شاهد حال اوست علماء و شعراء را دوست داشتی و درحق ایشان عطایای جزیل فرمودی هر سال زیاده از چهارصد هزار دینار او را برین جماعه صرف شدی بصورت کریه لقا بود روزي در آینه بنگرید از شکل بد خود متالم و متفکر شد و زیرش موجب تفکر پرسید گفت مشهور است دیدن بادشاهان نور بصر افزاید این شکل که مراست عجب اگر دیدنش بیننده را کور نکند وزیر گفت صورتت از هزاران هزار یکي نه بیند اما سیرتت همکنانرا شامل است بر سیرت پسندیده اقامت فرمائي تا محبوب دلها باشي امین الدوله محمود را خوش آمد و سیرت پسندیده بمرتبهٔ رسانید که از همه بادشاهان درگذشت در اولین سال جلوسش در سیستان معدن زر سرخ بشکل درختی در زمین پدید آمد چندانکه نشیب میرفتند قوي‌تر بود و زر خالص بر می آمد تا چنان شد که دورش سه گز گشت در زمان سلطان مسعود از زلزله کوه ناپدید شد هم درین سال بغزا حق عم امین الدوله محمود بر عزم استخلاص فوسنج که اقطاع او بود و خلف بن احمد بران مستولي شده برفت و درجنگ او کشته شد امین الدوله محمود بانتقام رفت و بعد از محاربات بصد هزار مثقال طلا صلح کرد در محرم سنه اثني و تسعین و ثلثمائة بجنگ جیپال هندوستان

رفت و اورا اسیر کرد و امان داد و خراج بستید اما چون عادت
هندوان چنان بود که هر بادشاه که دو نوبت در دست مسلمانان
اسیر شود دیگر بادشاهی را نشاید وگناهش جز باتش پاك نشود
جیپال بادشاهی را بپسر داد و خود را بسوخت یمین الدوله
محمود درین جنگ غازي لقب یافت در سنه اربع و تسعین
و ثلثمائة بجنگ خلف بن احمد سیستان رفت جهت آنکه
خلف پسر خود طاهر را بعد از مراجعت از حج ولي عهد کرده بود
و حکومت داده و خود بطاعت حق تعالی مشغول شده باز
پشیمان شده و بر پسر غدر کرده و اورا کشته یمین الدوله بدین
انتقام با او جنگ کرد او منهزم بقلعهٔ طاق رفت یمین الدوله
محمود قلعه را بعد از محاصره مسخر کرد او بزنهار بیرون آمد
و یمین الدوله محمود را سلطان خواند و او را این لفظ خوش آمد
و او را امان داد و لقب خود سلطان کرد ملک سیستان او را
مسلم شد خلف بن احمد بعد از مدتی مخالفت سلطان محمود
کرد و با ایلک خان پناه برد سلطان محمود آگاه شد اورا از
سیستان بقلعهٔ جرجان فرستاد و آنجا بود تا درگذشت سلطان
محمود بهاطیه و ملتان تا حدود کشمیر صافی گردانید و با
ایلک خان صلح کرد بعد از مدتی ایلک خان نقض عهد کرد
و بجنگ سلطان آمد سلطان او را منهزم گردانید و خوش پسران
بسیار از لشکر او دردست زاولیان اسیر شدند زاولیان از ایشان
حظی تمام یافتند ایلک خان بغد و ترکان چین از تخم افراسیاب
و سیله جست بر در بلخ جنگ کردند سلطان محمود مظفر شد
ایلک خان بگریخت و دیگر باره صلح کرد و در ماوراء النهر مقیم
شد سلطان محمود بجنگ نواسه صاحب ملتان رفت و ان ملک
مسخر کرد و با سلام درآورد صاحب ملتان را بکشت و دیگریرا
حکومت داد سلطان محمود بجنگ غوریان رفت و ایشان

درآنوقت کفار بودند و سوري نام مهترشان بود جنگ کردند سوري کشته شد و پسرش اسیر گشت و از قهر او در زیر نگین انگشتري زهر داشت بمکید و بدوزخ رفت ولایت غور در اسلام آمد و مسخر سلطان شد قصد قلعه بهیم کرد که بتکده هندوستان بود بران مظفر شد و خواسته بی شمار آورد قریب صد صنم از زر و نقره بیاورد از انجمله یکی صنم را هزاران هزار مثقال طلا وزن بود انرا در وجه عمارت مسجد غزنه نهاد چنانکه بردرهای آن بجای آهن زینت از طلا کرد درآن وقت حکام غرجستان را شاري میخواندند و ابونصر شار غرجس بود با سلطان محمود مخالفت کرد سلطان لشکر بجنگ او فرستاد او را اسیر گردانید و امان داد و املاک او بخرید و او در خدمت سلطان بود تا متوفي شد صاحب ماردین مخالفت سلطان کرد و خراج باز گرفت سلطان ابوسعید طائي را با سپاه بجنگ ایشان فرستاد و خود در عقب برفت جنگ کردند صاحب ماردین در حصاري شد سلطان بقوت فیلان دیوار قلعه خراب کرد و قلعه مسخر گردانید آنجا در خانه بر سنگي نقشی چند بود بخواندند تاریخ عمارت قلعه بود بچهل هزار سال میکشید همه بنادانی بت پرستان مقرر شدند چه از زمان هبوط آدم بروایتی که در افواه مشهور است بهفت هزار سال نمی کشد اگر برقول علما اعتبار کنیم شك نیست که عمارت بنائي چندین سال آبادان نماند لیکن چون جهل ایشان در مرتبه ایست که بت را بخدائي مي پذیرند اگر این معني پیش ایشان مقبول شود عجب نباشد *

منتخب از کتاب روضة الصفا

سلطان مسعود چون ابتر و پریشان حال بغزنین رسید بعضی از امرای دولت را بگرفت و برخی از ایشانرا بکشت بزعم انکه این طایفه در جنگ سلجوقیان تقصیر کرده اند و پسر خود مودود را با فوجی از لشکر و ابونصر احمد بن محمد بن عبد الصمد وزیر بجانب بلخ روان کرد و خود با برادر خویش محمد مکحول و پسران او احمد و عبد الرحمن و عبد الرحیم و سایر اقارب و عشایر بجانب هندستان نهضت فرمود به نیت انکه زمستان دران حدود قشلاق کند و در موسم بهار سپاهي بیش از شمار ترتیب داد و بجهت دفع سلجوقیان روي بخراسان آورد و چون مسعود از اب سند بگذشت و هنوز معظم خزینه در انطرف آب بود که نوشتکین و غلامان خاص با یکدیگر اتفاق نموده خزینه را غارت کردند و پیش محمد مکحول رفته بسلطنت بروی سلام کردند محمد از قبول آن امر امتناع نموده غلامان گفتند ما از برای دولتخواهي تو اظهار عصیان کرده‌ایم اگر توابا نمائي ما ترا بکشیم و با دیگرے بیعت کنیم محمد مکحول ناچار بان کار تن در داد و غلامان در رکاب محمد از اب گذشته با مسعود مصاف دادند و سپاه مسعود که در غایت قلت بودند منهزم شدند و مسعود پناه برباطی برد که دران حوالي بود و عاقبت او را گرفته پیش برادرش آوردند محمد با او گفت که من قصد کشتن تو ندارم اکنون جهت سکني خویش جائي اختیار فرمائي که حرم و اولاد تو مصحوب تو باشد و مسعود بر قلعه کیری رقم کشیده محمد او را با جمیع متعلقان بدانجا فرستاده جمعی را بمحافظت او موسوم گردانید گویند که مسعود در وقت توجهه

بدان حصار مالي از برادر طلبید که در مصالح خویش صرف کند و محمد سست همت پانصد درم فرستاده مسعود بگریه افتاده گفت دیروز حکم من بر سه هزار خروار بار خرینه روان بود امروز بر یک درم قادر نیستم و ان شخص که پانصد درم پیش او برد هزار دینار از خاصه خویش بمسعود داد و این سخاوت سبب سعادت او شد و اثران در ایام دولت مودود بن مسعود به او رسید و چون چشم محمد از نور باصره بشره بهره نداشت سلطنت به پسر خویش احمد گذاشت و از امر حکومت نامی باو بیش نماند و احمد که دماغ او مشوش و مخبط بود با پسر یوسف بن سبکتگین و پسر علي خویشاوند اتفاق کرده بی رضای محمد بقلعه رفته مسعود را کشتند و این صورت بر محمد گران آمد و بعضی گفته اند که احمد پدر را اغوا کرد تا کسان فرستاده مسعود را کشتند مدت سلطنت مسعود نه سال و یازده ماه بود سلطان مسعود بادشاهي شجاع و کریم الاخلاق بود سخاوتي مفرط داشت با علما و فضلا مجالست و مصاحبت نمودي و در باره ایشان انواع احسان و امتنان بتقدیم رسانیدي جمعي افاضل باسم او کتب نوشته اند و او در تصدق غایت مبالغه بجا مي آوردي نقلست که نوبتی در ایام رمضان فرمود که مبلغ هزار هزار درم بمستحقان رسانیدند و در آوان سلطنت او در ممالک محروسه آن شهریار بقاع خیر از مدارس و مساجد و غیر ذلک بحیثیتي بنا نهادند که زبان از تعداد آن قاصر است بالجمله چون مسعود کشته شد محمد مکحول نامه بمودود بن مسعود فرستاد مضمون آن که فلان و فلان بقصاص خون پدر مسعود را کشتند و مرا دران اختیاري نبود مودود در جواب نوشت که اطال الله بقاء الامیر خداي عز وعلا آن فرزند دیوانهٔ او را عقلی روزي کناد که به آن معاش تواند کرد امري عظیم را مرتکب شده است

و خون بادشاهي ریخته که حضرت امیرالمومنین او را سید الملوک و سلاطین میخواند و زود باشد که پاداش آن بدو رسد وسیعلم الذین ظلموا اي منقلب ینقلبون و بعد کشته شدن مسعود ولایت خراب شد و محمد و پسران او را درنظر لشکر ورعیت اعتباري نماند و تمامت اموال و ممالک اهل پرشاور که دیاري فسیح وعریض بود بغارت رفت و درآن ملک غلامي بیک دینار ویک من خمر نیز بیک دینار میفروختند وخریدار خمر زیاده ازخریدار غلام بود *

فصل ۲۲ * ذکر محاربهٔ مودود بن مسعود باعمّش محمد بن محمود و انتقال دولت و ملک او بمودود

چون خبر قتل مسعود به پسرش مودود رسید از ظاهر بلخ کوچ کرده متوجه غزنین شد و محمد نیز از نواحي سند بحدود غزنین رسیده هردو لشکر صف بیاراستند و مودود غالب گشته محمد را با پسرانش و نوشتگین بلخي که مادهٔ آن فتنه و فساد او بود وپسر علي خویشاوند بدست آورد و مجموع ایشان را بقتل رسانیده هیچکس خلاصي نیافت الا عبدالرحیم بن محمد وسبب مخلص او آنکه درآن اوان که مسعود را حبس کردند و برادرزادگان او عبدالرحمن و عبدالرحیم بدیدن وي رفتند عبدالرحمن دست دراز کرده کلاه مسعود از سرش برگرفت و عبدالرحیم آن را از دست برادر گرفته برسرعم نهاد وعبدالرحمن را سرزنش کرده دشنام بسیار داد و بدین یک ادب از کشتن رهائي یافت و عبدالرحمن خود را با دیگران در ورطهٔ هلاک انداخت *

منتخب من تاريخ الهند تصنيف ابو ريحان محمد البيروني

وقد كان لهم ملوك بكابل اتراك قيل في اصلهم انهم كانوا من التبت جاء اولهم و هو برهتكين و دخل غارا بكابل لا يمكن دخوله الا مضطجعا زحفا و فيه ماء و وضع هناك طعاما لايام و هذا الغار الان معروف هناك يسمى بقر و يدخله من يستيمن به و يخرج معه من ذلك الماء بجهد و كان على بابه جماعات من الفلاحين يعملون و مثل هذه الاشياء لا يمكن ولا يروح الا بمواطاه مع واحد و كان من واطاه حمل القوم في العمل علي المواظبة بالليل و النهار بالنوب لئلا يخلوالموضع من الناس و عند مضى ايام على دخوله اخذ يخرج من الغار و الناس يجتمعون و هم يرونه كما يولد من الام و عليه زي الاتراك من القباء و القلنسوة والخف و السلاح فعظم تعظيم انسان مخترع و للملك مخلوق واستولى على تلك متسما شاهية كابل و بقى الملك في اولاده قرونا عددها حول الستين *

ولولا ان الهند في امر الترتيب متساهلون و عن نظام تواريخ الملوك فى التوالي متغافلون و الي التجازف عند الحيرة والضرورة ملتجمؤن لاوردنا ما ذكره قوم منهم على اني سمعت ان ذلك النسب على ديباج وجد في قلعة نغركوت و حرصت على الوقوف عليه فامتنع الامر لاسباب *

وكان من جملتهم كنك و هوالذي ينسب اليه البهار الذي بپرشاور فيقال كنك حيث زعموا ان راي قنوج اهدى اليه في

جملة ما اهدى ثوبا فاخرا بديعا وانه اراد قطعه ثيابا لنفسه فاحتج الخياط عن عمله وقال ههنا صورة قدم انسان وكيف ما اجتهد لايجي الا على ما بين الكتفين وفي ذلك ماذكرناه في قصة بل فعلم كنك ان صاحب قنوج قصد اذلاله والاستخفاف به وركب من فوره مع جنوده يركض نحوه وسمع راي ذلك فتحير ولم يكن له به طاقه فاستشار وزيره فقال الوزير قد هيجت ساكنا وفعلت ما لايجب فاقطع الان انفي وشفتي ومثل بي لاجد الي المكر سبيلا فلا وجه للمجاهرة وفعل به راي ما قال وتركه ومضى الي اقاصي المملكة *

فلما عثر الجند على الوزير وعرفوه جاوابه الى كنك فسئاله عن حاله فقال الوزير كنت انهاه عن المخالفة وادعوه الي الطاعة والصلحة فاتهمني ومثل بي ومر على وجهه يطول اليه سلوك الجادة ويسهل من جهة تعسف قلاة بيننا وبينه ان امكن حمل الماء لكذى يوم قال كنك هذا سهل ، حمل الماء كما قال واستدله على السمت فتقدمه وادخله مفازة لاحد لاطرافها فلما انقضت الايام ولم يقن الطريق سال الوزير عن الحال فقال لا لوم علي في حماية صاحبي واتلاف عدوه واقرب المخارج من هذه القلاة ما دخلت منه فافعل بي ما شيت فلا مخلص لاحد منها *

فركب كنك واجرى فرسه حول موضع منخفض ثم غرز رمحه في وسطه فغار الماء فورانا كفى الجند شربا وزادا فقال الوزير انا ما قصدت بالحيلة الملائكة القادرين وانما قصدت بها الناس العاجزين واذا الامر كذلك فاقبل شفاعتي في ولي نعمتي واصفح عنه قال كنك انا من هذا المكان منصرف الي الوراء قد اجتبك الي الملتمس فقد امضى في صاحبك ما وجب وانصرف وذهب الوزير الي صاحبه راى فوجده قد

سقطت يداه و رجلاه في اليوم الذي غرز فيه كذك الرمح في الارض

و كان اخرهم لكتورمان و وزيره من البرأهمة كلرقد ساعده الزمان فوجد بالاتفاق دفائن استظهر بها و قوى و بحسب ذالك اعرضت الدولة عن صاحبه لتقادم عهدها مع اهل بيت فساء ادب لكتورمان و قبحت افعاله حتى كثرت الشكايات الى وزيره فقيده و حبسه للتاديب ثم استحلي الخلو بالملك و معه الة ذلك من الاموال فاستولي عليه و ملك بعده البراهمة سامند ثم كملوا ثم بهيم ثم جيپال ثم انند پال ثم نرد جيپال قيل في سنة اثنى عشرة و اربعمائة للهجرة و ابنه بهيمپال بعده بخمس سنين و انقضت الشاهيه الهندية *

و لم يبق من اهل ذلك البيت نافخ نار وكانوا مع البسطة بهجين بالمكارم وحسن العهد والاصطناع و لقد استحسنت من انند پال مراسلة الامير محمود و الحال بينهما في غاية الخشونة بانى سمعت خروج الترك عليك و انتشارهم بخراسان فان شيت جيتك في خمسة الف فارس و ضعفها رجالة و ماية قيله و ان شيت و جهت اليك بابني في ضعف ذلك و ليس في ذلك اعتاد بموقع ذلك عندك و انما انا كثيرك فلا اريد ان يغلبك غيري و كان شديد البغض للمسلمين من لدن اسر ابنه وكان ابنه نرد جيپال بخلافه *

منتخب از خلاصة الاخبار

ذکر فوجي از غلامان سلاطین غور که بمرتبه سلطنت رسید

سلطان شهاب الدین برخریدن غلامان ترک و تربیت کردن ایشان نزهتی تمام داشت یکی از جمله ممالیک او تاج الدین یلدز است که حکومت بلاد کرمان و توران را که از توابع دیار سند است باو آرزاني داشته بود تاج الدین یلدز بعد از شهادت سلطان شهاب الدین برسریر آیالت غزنین نشست و چند گاهي درکامراني بسربرد و در جنگ سلطان شمس الدین ایلتمش والي دهلي گرفتار گشت و بقتل رسیده *

قطب الدین ایبک از جمله غلامان سلطان شهاب الدین بود و بمزید شجاعت و سخاوت امتیاز داشت و چون سلطان زمام سلطنت دهلي را بقبضه اقتدار او نهاده در ولایت هند غزوات بسیار کرد چنانچه بعضي از انها در تاج المآثر مذکور است مدت حکومت قطب الدین ایبک بست سال بود و ازین جمله چهارده سال دم از استقلال زد خطبه بنام خویش خواند *

آرام شاه بن قطب الدین ایبک * بعد از فوت پدر روزي چند برسریر سلطنت نشست و بنابر عدم قابلیت ازان امر مغارق و معزول شده سلطان شمس الدین ایبک قایم مقام گشت *

سلطان ناصرالدین قباچ * بعد از شهادت مالک خویش سلطان شهاب الدین باوجه ملتان و بعضی از قصبات دیارسند استیلا یافت و چون چنگیزخان در ممالک ایران دست بقتل و غارت برآورده

بسیاري از مردم خراسان پناه بملک ناصرالدین برده بانواع انعام و اکرام مخصوص گشتند و ملک ناصرالدین در اواخر ایام دولت با سلطان شمس الدین ایلتمش اغاز مخالفت کرده سلطان لشکر باوجه ملتان کشیده و ناصر الدین منهزم گشته بقلعه بکر گریخت و چون شنید که وزیر شمس الدین ایلتمش نظام الملک محمد بن ابوسعید قصد این حصار دارد درکشتي نشست تا ازان غرقاب جان بساحل نجات کشید اما همدران دیار غریق شد برهرتقدیر بعد از وفات قطب الدین ایبک سلطنت بروي قرارگرفت ومدت بست و شش سال بعدالت و نصفت قیام نموده بسیاري ازولایات وقلاع هند را مسخر ساخت و در شهور سنه ثلاث وثلثین و ستمائة جهان فاني پدرود کرده بعالم باقي تاخته کتاب جامع الحکایات که بنام نظام الملک محمد ابو سعید وزیر است درزمان او سمت تحریریافت *

سلطان رکن الدین فیروزشاه بن ایلتمش * چون پاي بر تخت سلطنت نهاد دست بانعام و احسان برکشاده بشراب مدام مشغولي نموده و دران باب افراط فرمود لاجرم امرا و ارکان دولت از خدمتش متنفر گشتند و اورا گرفته بند کردند مدت حکومت فیروز شاه هفت ماه بوده *

ذکر سلطان رضیه بنت شمس الدین ایلتمش * باتفاق اشراف و اکابر بعد از اخذ برادر برسریر سلطنت نشست و بحسن تدبیر و ضرب شمشیر اکثر مخالفانرا مطیع و منقاد گردانید و سلطان رضیه بصفات مرضیه موصوف و معروف بود و بنوازش فضلا و علما و فریاد رسي ضعفا و فقرا سعي و اهتمام مي نمود درایام سلطنت تاج برسر نهاده قبا پوشیدي و در روز بار برتخت نشستي چنانچه همه کس اورا دیدندي و سلطان رضیه در اواخر سنه سبع و ثمانین و ستمائة بسر ملک التونیه که دم از خلاف میزد لشکر کشید اما در اثناء راه امراء ترک باغي شده اورا در قلعهٔ تبرهند مقید

گردانید و ملک التونیه ازین معنی خبر یافته بدانجانب شتافت و ملکه را باخود عقد کرده روی سوی دهلی آورد *

معزالدین بهرامشاه بن ایلتمش * درغیبت رضیه برضای اکابر واعیان دهلی تاج جهانبانی برسرنهاد وچون ازقرب وصول خواهرش و شوهر واقف گشت بالشکر بسیار ایشانرا استقبال نمود و بعد از وقوع محاربه التونیه و رضیه گریخته دراثناء هزیمت جمعی از کفار هند ایشانرا گرفته بدرجهٔ شهادت رسانیدند و در آخر ایام حیات معزالدین بهرام شاه خواجه مهذب وزیر را که ازبادشاه متوهم بود بوساوس شیطانی امراء اتراك را بران داشت که کوس مخالفت کوفته بهرامشاه راشهید کردند حکومتش دوسال وچهل و پنج روز بود *

سلطان علاء الدین مسعود شاه * در هشتم ذی قعده سنه تسع و ثلثین و ستمائة سریر سلطنت دهلی را بوجود همایون مزین ساخته و لواء عدالت بسط بساط عیش و عشرت مشغولی فرموده مانند نرگس و لالهٔ لحظهٔ بی قدح و پیاله نبود بنابران امرا واعیان دل برمخالفتش قرار دادند و قاصدی نزد برادرش ملک ناصرالدین محمود که حاکم بهرایچ بود فرستادند و اظهار عبودیت و خدمتگاری نمودند لاجرم ملک ناصرالدین درسنه اربع و اربعین و ستمائة لشکر بدهلی کشیده سلطان علاء الدین را بدست آورده محبوس گردانید *

سلطان ناصرالدین محمود بن سلطان ایلتمش * چون برتخت حکومت قرار گرفت تیغ غزا اخته و لواء جهاد برافراخته بسیاری از ممالک هندرا مسخر ساخت و بنیاد حیات چندین هزار کافر مقهور برانداخت تفصیل حالات آن مهر سپهر سروری از کتاب طبقات ناصری که منهاج سراج جورجانی بنام نامی او تصنیف کرده مسطوراست و راقم حروف بواسطه سعی ازایجاز و اقتصار معاف و معذور پوشیده نماند که انچه در ذکر سلطان رضیه

و برادرش نوشته منقول از کتاب روضة الصفا است و این روایت بروایتي که در تاریخ وصاف وبناکتي سمت تحریر یافته مخالفتي تمام دارد ومجمل این دربن دوکتاب مسطوراست این است که سلطان رضیه را الغ خان نامي که دران اوان امیرالامرا بود گرفته بقتل رسانید وبرادرش ناصرالدین را قایم‌مقام گردانید و بعد ازچند روز او را تیغ کین بگذرانید آنگاه باستقلال رایت سلطنت برافراخته لقب خودرا سلطان غیاث‌الدین ساخت و بعد ازانکه غیاث‌الدین رخت هستي ببباد فنادادہ پسرش قایم مقام شدہ ملک فیروز که پیشوای قوم خلج بود بمخالفتش کمربستہ لشکر بدهلي کشید و اورا بقتل رسانیدہ پاي برتخت سلطنت نهاد و برادرزادہ خویش علاءالدین را بحکومت عرصۂ بداون فرستاد وعلاء الدین دران سرزمین باندك زماني استظهار و استعداد تمام پیدا کردہ روی بتسخیر دهلي آورد و ملک فیروز برگشته روز باستقبال روان گشت و درکنار آب جون صورت ملاقات روي نمود ملک فیروز بامید حقوق سابق با پنج نفر از آب عبور نمودہ علاءالدین از غایت بي مروتي او را بقتل رسانیدہ پاي برتخت سلطنت نهاد و برادرزادۂ خویش علاءالدین را از غایت بددلي شتافته لواي بادشاهي برافراخت وتا شهور سنه سبع وعشر وسبعمائة سلطنت دهلي تعلق بوی داشت آنگاه اونیز مانند دیگران علم عزیمت بجهان دیگر برافراشت فقط *

منتخب از کتاب دستور الوزرا

ابوالعباس فضل بن احمد الاسفراینی

در اول حال نیابت و کتابت فایق که ازجمله ارکان دولت سلاطین سامانی بود قیام مینمود و چون آفتاب اقبال فایق بسرحد زوال رسید ابوالعباس بمقتضای این بیت که *

بیت

زبی دولت گریزان باش چون تیر * وطن در کوی صاحب دولتان گیر

عمل نموده خود را بملازمت امیر ناصرالدین سبکتگین رسانید و پس ازانکه امیر ناصرالدین سبکتگین بخلد برین خرامیده و پسرش سلطان محمود تخت بادشاهی را بوجود همایون خود مشرف گردانید ابوالعباس را منظور نظر اعلیا ساخته منصب وزارت بوی تفویض فرمود در جامع التواریخ مسطور است که اگرچه فضل بن احمد ازحلیه فضل و ادب وتحریر درلغت عرب عاری بود اما در ضبط امور مملکت و سرانجام مهام سپاهی و رعیت ید بیضا می نمود و او را حق سبحانه تعالی پسری ارزانی داشت حجاج نام و این مولود عاقبت محمود بکسب فضایل نفسانی پرداخته سرآمد افاضل روزگار شد. و اشعار عربی در غایت فصاحت و بلاغت درسلک نظم کشید و نیز فضل بن احمد در علم حدیث مهارت تمام پیدا کرد چنانچه بعضی محدثان ازوی روایت نمودند و چون مدت ده سال از وزارت ابوالعباس درگذشت اختر طالعش از اوج شرف بحضیض وبال انتقال یافت بعضی ازمورخان سبب عزل او را چنین گفته‌اند که سلطان محمود را بخدمت غلامان مشتری سیما شیفقت تمام

بود و فضل بن احمد نیز درین معنی بمقتضای کل الناس علی دین ملوکهم قیام مینمود و فضل نوبتی در بعضی از ولایات ترکستان بخبر غلامی شنیده یکی از معتمدان را بان صوب کسیل کرد تا آن زهره جبینی را خریده بطریق عورات بغزنین آورد منهی کیفیت واقعه را بعرض سلطان رسانیده پادشاه گردون غلام ان غلام سیم اندام را از وزیر عطارد احتشام طلب فرموده جناب اصف شعار بر انکار اصرار نموده یمین الدوله باوجود کمال تمکین و وقار بهانه بر انگیخت و شبنگاه بخانه وزیر تشریف برد جناب وزارت مآب بمراسم ضیافت و اقامت و لوازم نیاز و نثار پرداخته دران اثنا غلام حورلقا بنظر بادشاه سعادت انتما درامد و اغاز عربده کرده پادشاه بگرفتن وزیر و نهب و تاراج سرایش فرمان داد و مقارن اینحال رایات ظفر مال سلطان ستوده خصال بجانب هندوستان حرکت نموده بعضی از امراء بدسگال ابوالعباس را انمقدار شکنجه کردند که بجوار مغفرت ایزد متعال اشتغال فرمود *

شعر

کسی از جفای فلک جان نبرد * فلک را وفادار نتوان شمرد

احمد بن حسن میمندی رضیع سلطان محمود بود و در مکتب خانه هم سبقی مینمود پدرش حسن میمندی در زمان حیات امیر ناصر الدین سبکتگین در قصبه بست بضبط اموال دیوانی مشغولی میکرد و بسبب غیابت مفسدان امیر ناصرالدین نسبت بدو بدگمان شد حسن روی بعالم اخرت آورد و انکه بعضی از مردم حسن میمندی را در سلک وزرا سلطان محمود شمرده اند عین غلط و محض خطا است و نزد علماء فن تاریخ خبر بی اصل و نامعتبر القصه چون احمد بن حسن بحسن خط و وفور فضل و کمال فصاحت و کثرت کیاست سرامد افاضل روزگار و مقبول قاطبه اکابر بزرگوار گشت سلطان محمود او را منظور

نظر عنایت ساخته صاحب دیوان انشا و رسالت گردانید و خدمات التفات سلطانی ساعة بساعة انخواجه صاحب فضیلت را از درجه بدرجه ترقی میداد تا منصب استفتاء ممالک و شغل عرض عساکر ضمیمهٔ مهم مذکور گشت و بعد از چند گاه ضبط اموال بلاد خراسان باشتغال سابقه انضمام یافت و آنجناب از عهدهٔ تمامی مهمات بر وجهی تمضی نمود که مزیدی بران نبود و چون مشرب عذب سلطانی نسبت بابوالعباس اسفراینی سمت تکدر پذیرفت و ذمام مهام وزارت و عنان امور کفایت در قبضه درایت احمد بن حسن قرار گرفت و مدت هیزده سال آنوزیر ستوده خصال در کمال اختیار و استقلال بضبط امور ملک و مال قیام مینمود و بعد از انقضاء مدت مذکور جماعتی از امراء بزرگ مثل التونتاش حاجب و امیر علی خویشاوند در مجلس رفیع سلطان زبان بغیبت و بهتان آن آصف سلیمان نشان بکشادند و بحکم کلمه یسمع بحل انسخنان پریشان در دل سلطان عالیمکان اثر کرده رقم عزل بر ناصیهٔ حال جناب وزارت مآب کشید و اورا در قلعهٔ از قلاع بلاد هند محبوس گردانید و چون سلطان محمود سبکتگین باعلا علیین خرامید و پسرش سلطان مسعود بر مسند سلطنت غزنین متمکن گردید احمد بن حسن را ازان قلعه بیرون آورد و کرت ثانیه شغل خطر وزارت را من حیث الاستقلال بوی تفویض کرد بعد ازانکه مدت دیگر آنوزیر خجسته سیر منتظم امور جمهور پرداخت در سنه ۴۴۴ علم عزیمت بصوب آخرت برافراخت *

شعر

همه خلق را آخر اینست کار * بدنیا نماند کسی پایدار فقط

منتخب از کتاب تاریخ حبیب السیر

ذکر سلطنت علاء الدین بهرام شاه و بیان مجملی از وقایع ایام دولت آن بادشاه عالی جاه

لقب بهرام شاه غزنوی بعقیده حمدالله مستوفی یمین الدوله بود و روایتی که در روضة الصفا مذکور است معزالدوله و او بادشاهی ذوشوکت صاحب حشمت بود و همواره با علما و فضلا مصاحبت می فرمود و در ایام دولت خود چند کرت بغزو کفار توجه نمود و بسیاری از قلاع و بلاد آن مملکت را کشوده و در اواخر ایام سلطنتش علاء الدین حسین غوری لشکر بغزنین کشیده بهرام شاه را بجانب هندوستان منهزم گردانید و بروایتی برادر خود که سوری نام داشت و بقولی بسام در آن بلده حاکم ساخت و بعد از مراجعت علاء الدین حسین بصوب غور بهرام شاه کرت دیگر بدارالملک غزنین شتافته بر برادر علاء الدین حسین ظفر یافت و او را بر گاوی نشانده گرد شهر بگردانیده علاء الدین حسین چون این خبر بشنید بعزم انتقام متوجه غزنین گشت اما قبل از رسیدن او دست قضا طومار حیات بهرام شاه را در نوشت فوت بهرام شاه بروایتی که در روضة الصفا مسطور است در سنه ۵۴۷ دست داد بقولی حمدالله مستوفی این واقع در سنه ۵۴۴ اتفاق افتاد مدت سلطنتش بروایتی اول ۳۴ سال بود و بقولی ثانی ۳۲ وزارت بهرام شاه در اوایل تعلق بعبد الحمید بن احمد میداشت و چون آن وزیر صایب تدبیر بنابر سعایت بعضی از مکر و تزویر شهید شد ابو محمد حسن بن ابو منصورات اتفاقی علم وزارت برافراشت دیگر از جمله افاضل عرفا

واعاظم شعرا که معاصر سلطان بهرام‌شاه غزنوي بود شیخ سنائي است و هو ابوالمجد بن ادم الغزنوي در نفحات مسطور است که سبب توبه شیخ سنائي آن شد که در زمستاني که سلطان محمود جهت تسخیر بعضی از دیار کفار از غزنین بیرون رفته بود سنائي در مدح محمود قصیده در سلک نظم کشیده متوجه اردوي وي شد تا بعرض رساند و در اثناء راه بدر کلخن رسید که یکی از مجذوبان مشهور بلای خوار ساقي خود را میگفت قدحي پرکن بکوري سبکتگین سیاح گفت محمود بادشاهي است مسلمان و بامر جهاد مشغولي مي نماید لاي خوار گفت مرد کي است نا خوشنود آنچه در تحت حکم وي درآمده است ضبط نمي تواند کرد مي‌رود که مملکت دیگر گیرد وآن قدح را در کشیده با او گفت قدحي دیگر پرکن بکوري سبکتگین سیاح گفت سنائي فاضلیست شاعر ولطیف طبع لاي خوار گفت اگر وی را از لطف طبع بهره بودي بکاري اشتغال نمودي که وی را بکار ها مدي گذافي چند در کاغذي نوشته که هیچ کاروي نمي‌آید و نمیداند که اورا براي چه آفریده اند سنائي از شنیدن این سخن متغیر گشته از شراب غفلت هشیار شد و بسلوک مشغول گشت وبر خرد خرده دان ارباب فضیلت و عرفان پوشیده و پنهان نماند که از مضمون این حکایت چنان بوضوح مي پیوندد که اشتهار شیخ سناي بنظم اشعار در زمان سلطان غزنوي بوده باشد وحال آنکه از کتاب حدیقه الحقیقة که در سلک منظومات حقیقت آیات آنجناب انتظام دارد چنان ظاهر میشود که شیخ سنائي معاصر سلطان بهرام شاه بوده وان کتاب را بنام نامي آن بادشاه عالیجاه نظم نموده وسلطان محمود غزنوي در سنه احدی وعشرین واربعمائة وفات یافته و نظم حدیقه چنانچه هم ازان کتاب به تحقیق مي انجامد در سنه خمس وعشرین خمسمائة باتمام

پیوسته در ملاحظه این دو تاریخ که متفق است نزد ارباب
گیاست و ضوح می یابد که صحبت حکایت مجذوب لای
نخوار بغایت مستبعد است و العلم عند الله تعالی وفات شیخ
سنائی بعقیدهٔ صاحب گزیده در زمان سلطان بهرام شاه دست
داده و بقول بعضی از فضلاء آن واقعه در سنه ۴۲۶ که
تاریخ اتمام حدیقه است اتفاق افتاده و ایضاً بر فصحای سخن آرا
و شعراء بلاغت انتما نصر الله بن عبد الحمید بن ابی المعالی
و سید حسن غزنوی معاصر بهرام شاه بوده اند و نصر الله کتاب
کلیله دمنه را بعبارتی که درمیان فرق برایا موجود بنام آن
بادشاه عالیجاه درسلک تحریر کشیده و سید حسن در روز جلوسش
قصیده منظوم گردانید که بیت اول آن این است *

شعر

ندای برامد ز هفت آسمان * که بهرام شاه است شاهجهان

در تاریخ گزیده مذکور است که دروقتی که سید حسن بزیارت روضه
مطهرهٔ حضرت خیر البریه سرافراز گشت ترجیعی در نعت
آنحضرت گفته در قبه منورهٔ آن ابیات را بخواند و چون بدین بیت
رسید که بیت لاف فرزندی نیارم زد ولیکن ای حبیب *
مدحتی گفتم ز حضرت خلعتی بیرون فرست * دستی از قبه
بیرون آمد با حله و گفت یا بنی و العلم عند الله تعالی فقط *

ایضاً منه

هرسه شهر دهلی که بیکدیگر اتصال داشت و یکی را سری
و دیگری را جهان پناه و سوم را دهلی کهنه میگفتند در تاراج
و تاخت سمت مساوات گرفت و شرح اینحال بمسامع جاه و جلال
رسیده فرمان واجب الامتثال صدور یافت که ارباب حرف و
صناعات را از اسیران جدا ساخته درمیان شاهزادگان تقسیم
نمایند تا بولایات خویش برند و سنگ تراشان را جهت خاصه

همایون مضبوط دارند تا در ملازمت موکب عالي بسمرقند رفته در مسجد جامعي که انجا ساخته خواهد شد کار کنند *

ذکر بعضی دیگر از فتوحات ارجمند و باز گشتن امیر تیمور گورکان جانب سمرقند * ماهجه توق گیتي فروز بعد از انکه پانزده روز افق دهلي را منزل اقامت ساخت عازم دیگر مواضع آنولایت شده صدای کوچ درعالم انداخت و بست و چهارم ربیع الاخر از ظاهر جهان پناه نهضت همایون اتفاق افتاده چون مرحله و زیراباد معسکر بادشاه جلالت نهاد گشت ایلچیان بهادر نهار که حاکم لهاوربود بخدمت رسیده دوطوطي که از عهد سلطنت سلطان تعلقشاه تا انزمان در مجلس ملوك هندوستان سخنوري و شیرین گوئي میکردند بنظران شاهباز قله معاني رسانیدند و ان تحفه گرامي بعز قبول اقتران یافته رایت منصور از آب جون عبور نمود و در موضع کنه بهادر نهار با پسر خود قلتاش بشرف بساط بوسي سرافراز شده پیشکش های شایسته گذرانید و باصناف الطاف خسروانه مخصوص گردید و امیر تیمور گورگان از منزل کنه بولایت دولت اباد معمور ترین ولایت هند بود تشریف برد و دو روز توقف کرده ازانجا روي بجانب قلعه میرت که از مشاهیر قلعه هند است آورد و درانزمان مولا احمد بهار سبزي و صفي گبر ضابط انقلعه بودند و اطاعت فرمان واجب الاذعان نمي نمودند آخر ماه ربیع الاخر صاحب قران عالي ماثر بدانجا رسیده عساکر منصور اغاز جنگ کردند و قهراً قهراً میرت را گرفته صفی گبر را درحین قتال بزخم تیغ آبدار بدار البوار فرستادند و پسرش را باتشي که مي پرستند بسوختند * بیت * اگر صد سال گبرآتش فروزد * چو یکدم اندراو افتد بسوزد *

منتخب از کتاب لب التواریخ

فصل پنجم از باب اول قسم سیوم

فصل پنجم * درذکر غوریان پنج تن مدت ملک شان شصت وچهار سال اصل ایشان از نسل سوري بادشاه غور بود که لشکر سلطان محمود غزنوي او را برانداخت نبیره سوري از بیم سلطان بهندوستان گریخت او را پسری بود سام نام مسلمان شد و تجارت مي کرد او را پسری بود نام او حسین بهمه هنری آراسته سام با پسر و اتباع وانچه داشت براه دریا عزیمت غور کرد باد مخالف برامد و کشتي غرق شد *

حسین بن سام دست در تخته پاره زد که بکنار افتد ببري درنده دران کشتي بود هم دست دران چوب پاره زد باقي مردم در گرداب فنا غوطه زدند حسین با ببر سه روز بر سر آب بماند چون بساحل رسیدند ببر بجست و حسین برست و بر ساحل دریا بشهری رسید و دو کانچه بخفت عسس او را بگرفت و هفت سال در زندان بماند بعد از هفت سال پادشاه رنجور شد بصدقه زندانیان را رها کرد حسین نیز ازاد شد و متوجه غزنین شد چون بدان حدود رسید جمعی از قطاع الطریق او را جوان خوبصورت یافتند اسپ و سلاح دادند و شب پیش ایشان بود اتفاقا دران شب طایفه از لشکر سلطان ابراهیم غزنوي که مدتی در طلب آن جماعت بودند بر ایشان ظفر یافتند وهمه را بکشتند چون جلاد چشم حسین بست حسین گفت الهي میدانم که بر تو غلط روا نیست چون است که مرا بیگناه

می کشند جلاد احوال او پرسید سرگذشت خود بشرح باز گفت و حکایت او بسمع سلطان رسید بر حالش رقت کرد و او را نوازش نمود و درمرتبه آورد و از اقرباي خود زن داد چون سلطنت بمسعود بن ابراهیم رسید او را امارت داد کارش بلند شد بعد او پسرش علاء الدین حسن بجاي او نشست *

علاء الدین حسن بن حسین بن سام چون دولت غزنویان روی در نقصان آورد او در مملکت ایشان مستولي شد در سنه خمس و اربعین و خمسمائة بادشاهي عاقل کاردان بود مدت شش سال بادشاهي کرد و در سنه احدی و خمسین خمسمائة درگذشت *

سیف الدوله محمد بن علاء الدین حسن بعد از پدر بادشاه شد جواني صاحب کمال کریم طبع و عادل و رعیت پرور و بخشنده و دریادل و متواضع بود ملک غزنین به پسر عم خود غیاث الدین محمد بن سام داد بعد از سلطان سنجر سلجوقي بلخ نیز مستخلص کرد غزان بجنگ او آمدند سیف الدوله دران جنگ کشته شد در سنه ثمان و خمسین و خمسمائة مدت سلطنتش هفت سال *

غیاث الدین ابوالفتح محمد بن سام بن حسین بعد از عم زاده بادشاهي بدو تعلق گرفت و باغزان جنگي عظیم کرد و بسیاری از ایشان بکشت و بقایای ایشان زینهار خواستند و خراج پذیرفتند سلطان غیاث الدین برادر خود سلطان شهاب الدین ابوالمظفر را در هرات نیابت داد و خود غزنین دارالملک ساخت چهل سال در پادشاهي بماند و در سنه ثمان وتسعین و خمسمائة بغزنین

در گذشت از آثار او مسجد جامع هرات است که در خمس و تسعمائة امیرعلیشیر آنرا تجدید عمارت کرده *

شهاب‌الدین ابوالمظفر بن سام بن حسین بعد از برادر بادشاه شد و چهار سال سلطنت کرد بعد ازان در وقت نماز کردن فدائیان هندي او را شهید کردند و در تاریخ وفات او گفته اند *

بیت

شهادت ملک بحر و بر شهاب الدین
کز ابتدای جهان مثل او نیامد یک
سیم زغرهٔ شعبان سال ششصد و دو
فتاد در ره غزنین بمنزل دمیک

محمود بن محمد بن سام بن حسین بعد از عمش سلطنت بر او قرار گرفت مدت هفت سال سلطنت کرد و در سنه تسع و ستمائة او را روزی در خانه کشته یافتند و مملکت غوریان بخوارزمشاهیان منتقل شد فقط

منتخب از تاریخ جهان آرا

صفحه هشتم در ملوک غوریه * مقدمه آورده اند که بسطامی نام از اولاد ضحاک گریخته پناه بکوه پایهای غور برد و درانجا تولد و تناسل میکرد تا آنکه نوبت به شبست رسید و او درزمان حضرت امیرالمومنین علیه الصلوة و السلم بود بملک بردست مبارک آنحضرت اسلام آورد و سلسله نسب اورا برین موجب ذکر کرده اند شبست بن حریک بن سق بن میشی بن وزن بن هین بن بهرام بن حجش بن ابراهیم بن سعد بن اسد بن شداد بن ضحاک و هو بسطام بن هشام بن نریمان بن افریدون بن سامند بن سفیداسپ بن ضحاک بن اشهران بن سبدست بن سیامک بن برنیاس بن ضحاک الملک است لاجرم آن طبقه به شبستی منسوب بوده اند فولاد شبستی در عهدا بو مسلم پنجی بن بهادان بن درمیش بن درمنشان بن پرویز بن شبست معاصر هرون الرشید بود سوری بن محمد فرزند زاده امیر پنجی درزمان صفاریه بود محمد بن سوری معاصر سلطان محمود سبکتگین است ابوعلی بن محمد سوری با سلطان محمود اظهار ایلی کرد عباس بن شیس بن محمد برادرزاده ابوعلی بغصب حکومت یافت و باسلطان ابراهیم غزنوی جنگ کرد محمد بن عباس قایم مقام شد قطب الدین حسن بن محمد بن عباس جد سلاطین غوریه است عزالدین حسن بن قطب الدین و او را هفت پسر فرخنده اثر و از معاصران و تابعان سلطان سنجر سلجوقی بود و اولادش مفرق بدو فرقه شدند مبین در دو سطر. سطر اول در سلاطین غور و غزنین قطب الدین محمد بن عزالدین حسین که بملک الجبال اشتهار دارد داماد بهرام شاه غزنوی است

و از غور بخدمت او پیوسته بواسطه تهمتی مسموم شد و این اولین عداوتیست میانه غوریه و غزنویه سیف الدین سوری برادر دیگرش بانتقام بغزنه رفته چون بهرام شاه در انجا نبود. در جمادی الاول سنه ثلث و اربعین و خمسمائة آن ملک را مسخر ساخته برتخت محمودی نشست و بهرام‌شاه از هند عود نموده او را در سنه اربع و اربعین بگرفت و بزسوائی تمام بکشت و عداوتی که تا آن وقت مستور بود ظاهر شد بهاء الدین سام بن حسین وی پدر سلطان غیاث الدین و شهاب الدین است چون بانتقام اخوان حریک جمع نمود دران اثنا ابله براورده فوت شد ملک علاء الدین حسین بن عزالدین حسین و او اولین پادشاهی است که استیلا یافت آن قوم بدو بلند آوازه گشتند چون بانتقام برادران بغزنین رفته آنجا را بسوخت جهان سوز موسوم گردید و بسلطنت غزنین و بعضی محال خراسان رسید با سلطان سنجر مصاف داده اگرچه مغلوب شد اما مردم ازو حیات گرفتند وفاتش در ربیع الاخر سنه شصت وخمسین و خمسمائة ملک سیف الدین محمد بن علاء الدین حسین بعد از پدر پادشاه شده بجنگ غزی رفت و در روز مصاف بدست یکی از مردم خود دررجب سنه ثمان وخمسین کشته شد ملک غیاث الدین محمد بن سام بعد ازعم زاده بسلطنت نشسته خراسان را بتحت تصرف دراورد و بعنایت عظیم الشان شده در چهارشنبه بیست و هفتم جمادی الاول سنه تسع و سبعین و خمسمائة وفات یافت و درهرات در جنب مسجد جامع مدفون شد ملک شهاب الدین ابو المظفر بن سام برادر کوچک تر غیاث الدین که پدر او را حبشی گفتی درعهد برادر درشهور سنه سبعین و خمسمائة والی غزنین و سند و هند بود و بعد از برادر غور و خراسان را ضبط نمود چند کرت میان او و قطب الدین خوارزم شاه محاربات رفت آخر به تسخیر هند توجه نموده بعد از ضبط بغلامان معتمد سپرد و در وقت

مراجعت از لهاور در منزل دمیک در اول شعبان سنه اثنی و ستمائة بردست فدائیان کوکری کشته شد و بعضی از ارباب فساد بواسطه صداقتی که میانه خوارزم شاه فخر رازی بود نسبت قصد سلطان مد دکرده غلامانش درغدد انتقام شدند مولانا مدتی متواري بود سلطان غیاث الدین محمود بن غیاث الدین محمد پس ازعم بسلطنت موروثي نشسته علي شاه بن نکس خوارزمشاهی ازبرادرش قطب الدین توهم کرده پناه بدو آورد وی بنابر صلاح ملکي اورا گرفته بند کرد ملازمان علي شاه شب دزدیده بر قصر محمود رفته درشب شنبه هفتم صفرسنه سبع و ستمائة او را بکشتند اول درفیروزکوه اخر درهراة بمزارگاه درگاه مدفون گردید درمدح او گفته اند * بیت * سلطان مغربین و شهنشاه مشرقین * محمود بن محمد بن سام بن حسین * بهاء الدین سام بن غیاث الدین محمود باتفاق امرا بسلطنت نشسته علاء الدین السرین علاء الدین حسین جهان سوز بمدد سلطان محمد خوارزم شاه لشکر بغور کشید فیروز کوه را محاصره نمود و نصف جمادی الاول سنه سبع و ستمائة شهر گرفته او و شمس الدین محمد برادرش را اسیر کرده بخوارزم فرستاد و درکثرت مغول مادرسلطان هردو را در جیحون انداخت علاءالدین السرین علاءالدین جهانسوز بعد از حکومت چهار ساله در شهور سنه احدی عشر و ستمائة درجنگ ملک نصیرالدین حسین امیرشکار بقتل امد علاء الدین محمد بن ابو علی پسرعم ملک غیاث الدین محمد در حصار استپار مقید بود او را امرا برون آورده بطرف غزنین بردند و تاج الدین یلدوز اورا تربیت کردند و چتر سلطان شهاب الدین که تا ان وقت درسر مقبره اش نهاده بودند بدو حواله داشت و او را بسلطنت فیروزکوه روانه ساخت *

منتخب از کتاب تاریخ الفي

در تواریخ معتبره چنین ایراد نمودند که اولا سبب تسخیر امیر ناصر الدین سبکتگین هندوستان آن بود که در جوار مملکت امیر ناصر الدین قصبه بود. مشهور بقصدار و والی انموضع بحصانت و استحکام قلاع خود مغرور و برفاهیت و ارزاني ولایتش مسرور میبود و امیر ناصر الدین برسر ولایت او رفته اورا اسیر و دستگیر نمود و بعد ازان بارباو ولایتش ارزاني داشت مشروط به آنکه وي در ولایت خود بعد ازانکه و جوه دنانیر و روس منابر را بالقاب امیر ناصرالدین مزین سازد و هر سال مبلغی معین از مال آنولایت بخزانه سبکتگین رساند و بعد فراغ مهمات قصدار امیر ناصرالدین عزم غزو کفار نموده رو بدیار هند آورد و چند قلعه و شهر که قبل ازان مرکز رایات اسلام بانموضع نرسیده بود فتح نمود جیپال ملک هند دید که دست تعرض مجاهدان دین بساحت ممالک او دراز شد بسیار مضطرب و بی آرام گشت و در چاره ان کار بیندیشید که مبادا ملک مورث از دست برود بنابرین لشکر خودرا جمع آورده روی بدیار اسلام نهاد وامیر ناصرالدین ازینحال خبریافته لشکری جمع آورد که هامون وکوه از بسیاري آن بستوه آمدند القصه ملک جیپال ازین جانب و امیر ناصرالدین ازان سوی متوجه یکدگر شده درسرحد ولایت هند هردو لشکر بیکدگر رسیده دست بکار زار درآورده روی زمین ازخون کشتگان لعل‌فام ساختند چنانچه شیران هردو لشکر و دلیران هردو کشور خسته کارزار و بسته اضطرار بماندند و درین محاربه سلطان محمود باوجود خورد سالي انچنان آثار جلادت و مردانگي بظهور رسانید که دیده

فلک جهان بین از مشاهده آن خیره ماند و چون مکرراً میانه
این هردو لشکر محاربات واقع شد جماعتی خبر بامیر ناصرالدین
رسانیدند که قریب بلشکرگاه ملک جیپال چشمه ایست که هرگاه
قدری ازنجاست در انجا اندازند بادوصاعقه و رعد و سرمای آنچنان
پیدا می شود که هیچ احدی طاقت قیام ندارد بنابرین امیر
ناصرالدین فرمود تا قدری از قاذورات دران چشمه افگندند
فی الحال ابر پیداشد و رعد وصاعقه شروع نمود و روز روشن همچو
شب تار تاریک گشت وآنچنان سرمائي ظاهرشد که خون در عروق
منجمد گشت وکاربانجا رسید که اهل هند را طاقت اقامت دران
سرزمین نماند وچون ملك جیپال اینحالت را مشاهده نمود
متحیرمانده شروع درتضرع وزاري نموده بصلح راضي شد وکس
پیش ناصرالدین فرستاد که من سال بسال مبلغ گرامند بخزانه
میرسانم وچند زنجیر فیل و دیگرانچه امیر ناصرالدین میفرماید
خدمت میکنم وحکم او را درممالک هندوستان نافذ وجاري
میگردانم امیر ناصرالدین از کمال مروت و نیکوئي که ذات آن بران
محمول بود ملتمسات ملک جیپال را مقبول داشت *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سال پانصد نود ودوم از رحلت درتواریخ معتبره
چنین آورده اند که چون درحین انهزام شهاب الدین از اتراك
و خطا وقت مراجعت از خوارزم چنانچه تفصیل آن سابقا گذشت
دربلاد او اشتهار چنین یافته که سلطان شهاب الدین درمعرکه جنگ
غایب شد و هیچ معلوم نه که کشته شده یازنده مانده بجای
بیرون رفته بنابرین مفسدان ولایت از اطراف و جوانب سر
برداشته هریکی بناحیه از نواحي دست دراز کردند و ازجمله
مفسدان رای سال نام شخصی که درمیان بلدهٔ لهاور و کابل درکوهستان
میبود وباتفاق جماعت کوکران که در ناحیه بودند و همیشه مال

بخزانه شهاب الدین میفرستادند پا از دایره اطاعت و انقیاد بیرون نهاده شروع در تاخت و تاراج آن ولایت کرده راه میانه لهاور وغزنه بند ساختند بنوعیکه هیچ احدی را مجال عبور نماند و چون شهاب الدین ازان معرکه بروجهیکه قبل ازین مذکور شد بصحت و سلامت برگشته بغزنه آمد واین اخبار بسمع او رسیده درمقام آن شد که بجانب هندوستان رفته متمردان آنحدود را تادیب بلیغ نماید بنابرین اولاً امیرمحمد بن ابي علي که نایب او بود بر لهاور و ملتان فرمان نهاد که خراج سنه احدی وستمائة را باستعجال هرچه تمامتر باشد ارسال باید داشت که استعداد یورش خطا درکار است محمد بن علي درجواب نوشت که خراج سنوات مذکوره مهیا است اما کوکران ورای سال صاحب جبل جودي راه پائین غزنه ولهاوررا آنچنان مسدود ساختند که هیچ احدی ازان راه تردد نمیتواند کرد وچون اینمعني بسمع شهاب الدین رسید بغلام خود قطب الدین که مقدم سپاه هند بود نوشت که کس پیش کوکران فرستاده ایشانرا از ارتکاب این افعال شنیع منع نماید واگر از تمرد وعصیان خود پشیمان گشته قدم در دایره اطاعت و انقیاد نهند مانیز ازگناهان گذشته ایشان درگذریم وچون قطب الدین ایبک بمقتضاء فرموده عمل نمود کس پیش کوکران فرستاده ایشان را با طاعت و انقیاد دعوت فرمود پسرکوکر درجواب او گفت که شمارا این حالت نیست باید که سلطان شهاب الدین کس خود فرستند اگر او زنده میبود چرا پیش ما نمیفرستاد تا ما نیز خراج ازبرای او میفرستادیم آن ایلچي درجواب اوگفت که شمارا اینحالت نه که سلطان شهاب الدین کس خود بفرستد این نهایت خاطرشما ملاحظه کردند که منکه غلام ایشانم پیش شما فرستاده اند پسر کوکرباز درجواب او گفت که این همه حکایت شهاب الدین درمیانه پیدا نیست ایلچي درجواب گفت که تحقیق

این امر آسانست تو یکی از معتمدان خود بغزنه فرست تا بچشم خود دیده آید که ایا شهاب الدین هست یا نه القصه پسر کوکر گوش بسخن او نکرده همچنان بر عصیان و طغیان بخود ثابت قدم بماند و چون فرستاده قطب الدین بازگشت انچه دیده و شنیده بود بعرض رسانید پس قطب الدین حقیقت حال را معروض درگاه سلطان شهاب الدین نمود پس سلطان حکم فرمود که قطب الدین لشکرهاء هندوستان جمع آورده بجنگ کوکران رود وآن قوم مفسد متمرد را آنچنان مستاصل و نابود گرداند که زیاده بران متصور نتواندبود چون فرمان بقطب الدین رسید درمقام استعداد وجمعیت سپاه شده میخواست که برسرآن طایفه رود که سلطان شهاب الدین خود درصدد آن شده که سپاه بجانب خطا کشد که شکایت ظلم وتعدي کوکران پیاپي رسید و از قوت و شوکت ایشان آنمقدار چیزها بعرض سلطان رسانیدند که برو لازم شد که اول دفع ایشان وقمع فساد ایشان نماید بعد ازان متوجه جانب دیگر شود بنابرین ترک عزیمت خطا کرده خیمه بجانب غزنه زد و در پنجم شهر ربیع الاول این سال از غزنه متوجه هندوستان گردید چون شهاب الدین بپرشاور در رسید معلوم شد که کوکران بالشکر فراوان میانه جیلم و سوده فرود آمدند پس شهاب الدین اینخبر شنید از پرشاور ایلغار کرده در روز پنجشنبهٔ بست و پنجم ماه مذکور غافل برایشان ریخت و از صبح آنروز تا نماز عصر نایره جدال و قتال اشتعال داشت وکوکران آنچنان جنگ میکردند که نزدیک بود که سلطان را بان عظمت و جلال از جای خود بجنبانند که بیک ناگاه دران وقت قطب الدین ایبک بالشکر هندوستان در رسید شروع درقتل و کشتن کوکران نمود چون لشکر قطب الدین تازه زور بودند کوکران طاقت مقاومت ایشان نیاورده رو بگریز نهادند وسپاه اسلام ایشان را تعاقب نموده آنچنان قتل و کشش کردند که زیاده بران متصور نبود

بقیة السیف گریخته درمیان بیشه درآمدند ومسلمانان از اطراف وجوانب آن بیشه آتش زدند کافران دران وقت با یکدیگر گفتند که زنهار خود را بدست مسلمانان ندهند و خود را در آتش انداختند تا آنکه تمام آن طائفه که به بیشه پناه برده بودند خودرا باتش سوختند پس خاطر سلطان از ممر آن فتنه فارغ گشت ومتوجه لهاور شد و سپاه خود را رخصت مراجعت بمنازل داد که چند روز اسایش نموده متوجه یورش خطا شوند *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سنه اربع و ثمانین وسبعمائة

درین سال فرمان ده هندوستان اسلامخان باستقبال رای نهرسنگ فرستاده خود بجانب اتاوه رفت ونهرسنگ باسلامخان جنگ کرده شکست یافت و آخر صلح کرده همراه اسلامخان بدهلي آمد وسلطان مقدمان اتاوه درحصار درآورده ایشان اندك جنگی کرده شب قلعه را گذاشته گریختند وسلطان قلعه اتاوه را خراب کرده بقنوج رفت وآن نواحي را تاخته بجلیسر آمد وآنجا حصاری ساخته محمد اباد نام کرده وحاکم دهلي عرض داشت کرد که اسلامخان بعد از معاودت از خدمت سر مخالفت دارد و عزیمت کرده که بجانب لاهور و ملتان رفته فتنه انگیزد سلطان بتعجیل روان شده بدهلي آمد واسلامخان را بحضور آورده پرسش نمود و او انکار کرد برادر زاده اسلامخان گواهي داد که او ارادهٔ مخالفت داشت پس اسلامخان بموجب حکم بقتل رسید وخواجه جهان وزارت یافت *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سنه ست وثمانین وسبعمائة

ودرین سال حاکم هندوستان سلطان محمد شاه زاده همایون

بحال را با عساکر قاهره بدفع سجا کوکر که باغي شده حصار لاهور را متصرف شده بود نامزد کرد شهزاده اراده داشت که بطرف لاهور روان شود که خبر وفات سلطان رسیده. چنانکه مذکور شد که بیحضوري سلطان امتداد یافته روز بروز زیاده میشد تا بتاریخ هفتدهم ربیع الاول داعي حق را لبیک اجابت گفته نعش اورا بدهلي آورد وبرکنار خواص خان دفن کردند مدت سلطنت اوشش سال وهفتماه بود وبعد ازو سلطان علاء الدین همایون شاه باتفاق امرا قدیم پا بر تخت سلطنت نهاد وجمیع عمال ولایت را بدستور زمان پدرش برقرار داشت و یکماه سلطنت کرده بیحضور شده بتاریخ پنجم جمادي الاول او نیز برحمت حق رفت وبعد ازفوت او درمیانه امرا خلاف شد آخر بسعي خواجه جهان برناصرالدین محمود شاه حاکم هندوستان اتفاق کردند وخواجه جهان را ملک اشرف خطاب دادند بدفع و رفع هندوان آناوه شد وقنوج واوده و آنصوبه را تعین کرده بست زنجیر فیل خاصه خود را باو همراه ساخت و او با نولایت رفته باهستگي همه را بعمل آورد تا حالي پور و حکام بنگاله نیز فیلان مقرري هرساله نزد او فرستادند و سارنگ خان را ذیپالپور داده بدفع فساد سجا کوکر بطرف لاهور فرستادند و او بانجا رفته لشکر ملتان و آن نواحي را جمع کرده متوجه سجا شد او نیز باستقبال روانشده قصبه اجودهن را حصار کرده درنواحي لاهور جنگ شد و سارنگ خان غالب آمده سجا بلاهور گریخت و با زن و بچه یکوه جمو رفت و سارنگ خان لاهور را ببرادر خود عادلخان داده بدیپالپور رفت و همدرین سال محمود شاه معزي خان را گذاشته در شهر خود بنفس نفیس متوجه بیانه شد و سعادتخان در رکاب بود نزدیک بگوالیار رسید و علاء الدین داروال و مبارکخان و بلو خان برادر سارنگ خان در مقام قتل سعادتخان شدند و او را آگاه شد

مبارکخان و علاءالدین را بکشت و بلو خان گریخته بدهلي رفت و سلطان محمود شاه نیز بدهلي مراجعت نمود و معزي خان باستقبال بیرون آمده ملازمت کرده از طرح وضع او وهمی دردل پیدا شد بشهر گریخت و مستعد جنگ شد و حصاری شد و سعادتخان نیز تمام افواج سلطان را ترتیب داده نزدیک بدروازه آمد و سه روز جنگ شد و سعادتخان از سلطان محمود دلگیر شد وبا نزدیکان خود بشهر آمده بمعزي خان پیوست و تمام اسباب سلطنت بدست سعادتخان افتاد ودیکرباره جنگ کرده شکست خورده باز بشهر گریخت و سعادتخان بفیروزاباد رفت چه برشکال نزدیک بود باتفاق لشکر یخان بن فخان بن فیروزشاه را که درپلاد میوات بوده طلبداشت بسلطنت برداشت *

ایضاً منه

از ذکروقایع سنه سبع و ثمانین وسبعمائة

و درینسال احوال مملکت هندوستان این است که نصرتخان را سعادت خان بر تخت نشانیده خود حکومت میکرد واز سلطنت بر نصرتخان بجز نامی باقي نمانده بود و بعضی از ملازمان فیروز شاهي بایکدیگر اتفاق کرده فیلبان را از سعادت خان برگردانید نصرتخان را برفیل سوارکردند ومتوجه سعادت خان شده اند و او چون غافل بود فرصت جنگ نیافته بگریخت و بدهلي آمده از معزي خان مدد طلبیده نزد او رفت و بعد از چند روز معزي خان او را بقتل آورده دیکر امرا بنصرت خان متفق گشته در دهلي و فیروزاباد دو چار شد دو بادشاه شد و بهادر طاهر با سلطان محمود متفق شده ملک ماورد را آفتاب خان خطاب داده هرروز میان نصرت شاه و محمود شاه جنگ میشد اما هیچکدام نمیشد و این بدهلي و آن بفیروزاباد

میرفت و میان دواب و سنبل و پانی پت و جهجر نصرت شاه متصرف شد و هر کس از امرا که در ولایت بودند جای خود را محکم کرده سر بکسی فرود نمی آوردند وسلطان محمود معزی خان را بجز خزانه و حصار دهلی چیزی در تصرف نماند *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سنه اثنان و تسعین و سبعمائة

درین سال مجملی از وقایع هندوستان آنکه سارنگخان چون ملتان را بتصرف آورده متوجه سامانه شد و عالم خان را از سامان بیرون کرد و نصرت شاه خبر یافته تاتار خان حاکم پانی پت با ملک الماس عهده دار با لشکر آراسته بدفع سارنگخان تعین نمود و در اوایل محرم سنه ثمانمائة تاتار و سارنگخان جنگ کرده سارنگخان شکست یافت و بملتان گریخت *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سنه ثلث و تسعین و سبعمائة

و درین سال احوال هندوستان آنست که اقبال خان بجانب اتاوه لشکر کشید و مقدم آنجا را شکست داده بقنوج رفت و سلطان مبارک شاه از جونپور متوجه او شد و در کنار آب گنگ بیکدیگر رسیدند و آب میانجی کرده دو ماه در برابر با یکدیگر نشسته اند و گذر میسر نشده هر دو بجای خود مراجعت کردند و اقبال خان در راه شمس خان و مبارک خان را که باو همراه شده بودند بغدر بقتل آورد و درین سال طغا خان ترکچه که داماد غالبخان بود و خضرخان نیز باستعداد خود متوجه او شد و در اجود هن جنگ واقع شد و خضرخان غالب شد و غالبخان و دیگر امرا که همراه طغاخان بودند او را بمکر کشته اند و فتنه آرام یافت *

ایضاً منه

از ذکر وقایع سنه اربع و تسعین و سبعمائة

درین سال سلطان محمود حاکم دهلي که بوقت آمدن صاحبقران بگجرات گریخته بود ازانجا بدر آمده درینوقت بدهلي آمد اقبالخان استقبال نموده در کوشک همایون آورد اما اسباب سلطنت بالتمام بدست اقبالخان بود و سلطان محمود را اختیاري نداشت بنابران سلطان محمود طاقت نیاورده عزیمت قنوج نمود اقبالخان نیز همراه شد کوچ بر کوچ بقنوج روان شدند مبارک شاه حاکم جونپور درین سال فوت شد و برادر سلطان ابراهیم حاکم آن ناحیه شده بود از آمدن سلطان محمود و اقبالخان خبردار شد لشکر مستعد بعزم جنگ ایشان روان شدند و چون لشکرها بایکدگر نزدیک شدند سلطان محمود که از اقبالخان آزرده خاطر بود ببهانه شکار سوار شد نزد سلطان ابراهیم رفته او از آمدن سلطان محمود که وارث ملک بود چندان خوش نیامد و سلطان محمود هم ازانجا بیرون آمده بخطهٔ قنوج رفت و شاهزاده مربوی که از قبل مبارک شاه حاکم قنوج بود ازانجا بیرون کرده قنوج را بتصرف درآورده و اقبالخان بدهلي مراجعت کرد و سلطان ابراهیم بجونپور رفت و بر سلطان در قنوج غلامان و متعلقان او متفرق شده بودند جمع شده مملکت قنوج برو قرار گرفت و او نیز بهمانجا قانع شده از سر زیاده طلبي درگذشت فقط

منتخب از کتاب طبقات اکبري

ذکر سلطان محمود بن سبکتگین

بعد از فوت سبکتگین امیر اسماعیل که پسر بزرگ سبکتگین است قایم مقام شده خواست که امیر محمود را از میراث محروم سازد و امیر محمود برو غالب آمده جانشین پدر شد و لشکر جانب بلخ کشید و ولایت خراسان را بتصرف درآورد و چون آنملک را از خس و خاشاک مخالفان صاف ساخت و آوازه کوس دولتش باطراف رسید خلیفه بغداد القادر بالله عباسي خلعتی بس فاخر که پیش ازان هیچ خلیفه بهیچ پادشاهي مانند آن نفرستاده بود فرستاد امین الملت و یمین الدولت لقب داد سلطان در اواخر ذي قعده سنه تسعین و ثلثمائة از بلخ بهرات رفت و ازانجا بسیستان رفته خلف بن احمد نام حاکم آنجا را مطیع خود ساخته بغزنین آمد و ازغزنین بهندوستان متوجه شد حصاری چند بگرفت و باز گشت و با ایلک خان خویشي کرد و قرار یافت که آن حصار ایلک خانرا باشد و رای سلطان در شوال سنه احدی و تسعین و ثلثمائة از غزنین عزیمت بهندوستان نموده با ده هزار سوار به پرشاور درآمده راجه جیپال با ده هزار سوار و پیاده بسیار و سیصد زنجیرفیل در برابر آمده معرکه کارزار بیاراست و فریقین با یکدیگر درآویخته داد مردانگي دادند بالاخرة سلطان محمود بفتح و فیروزي اختصاص یافت و راجه جیپال با پانزده نفر از پسر و برادران اسیرگشت و پنجهزار کس از کفاران دران معرکه بقتل رسیدند گویند که در گردن

جیپال حمایل مرصع بود که آنرا بزبان هندي مالا گویند و مبصران قیمت آنرا یکصد و هشتاد هزار دینار کرده بودند در گردن دیگر برادران او نیز حمایلهای قیمتي یافتند و این فتح روز شنبه هشتم ماه محرم سنه اثنی و تسعین و ثلثمائة بود و ازانجا بقلعه هند که جای بودن جیپال بود رفته آنولایت را مسخر ساخت و چون بهار شد بغزنین مراجعت نمود و درمحرم سنه ثلث و تسعین و ثلثمائة باز بسیستان رفته و خلف را منقاد ساخته بغزنین آورد و باز عزیمت هندوستان نموده قصد بهاطینه کرد و از نواحي ملتان گذشته در ظاهر بهاطینه فرودآمد بجر راجه آنجا از بس بکثرت سپاه و فیلان و متانت قلعه مغرور بود لشکر خود را بمقابله سلطان گذاشته خود باچندی بر کنار اب سند رفت و سلطان اینمعني دریافته جمعی را بر سر او فرستاد و چون فوج سلطان او را گرد گرفتند او خنجری بر خود زده هلاك شد و سرش را نزد سلطان آوردند وسلطان تیغ بیدریغ بر متابعان او رانده خلق کثیر را بقتل آورد و غنیمت بسیار از برده و فیل نفایس هندوستان بدست آورده بغزنین رفت فقط *

ایضًا منه

ذکر سلطنت خضرخان بن ملك سلیمان * نقل است که ملك مردان دولت که از امراء سلطان فیروزشاه بود ملك سلیمان پدر خضرخان را درحال طفولیت فرزند گفته پرورده بود بصحت رسیده که روزی ملك مردان دولت امیر سید جلال بخاري قدس سره را مهمان کرد و در وقت طعام کشیدن بفرموده ملك مردان دولت ملك سلیمان بدست شستن اهل مجلس قیام مینمود و سید جلال فرمودند که این جوان سید زاده را این خدمت لایق نیست و از سخن میرسید جلال تصدیق نسب او نمودند خضرخان جوانی بود صالح صادق‌القول پسندیده اطوار صاحب

اخلاق .و پاکیزگي طینت و بزرگي حال او دلیل بر بزرگي نسب او بود *

بیت

اگرچه از حسب آمد فعال نیک ولی
ستودگي شیم از جلالت نسب است

القصه در زمان سلطان فیروزشاه ملتان را ملک مردان دولت داشت وبعد از فوت او ملک شیخ متصرف شده دراندک زمانی درگذشت و سلطان فیروز شاه ملتان را بخضرخان داد و ازان باز خضرخان از امراء کبار شد پیش ازان که دهلي را متصرف شود جنگهای عظیم فتحهای بزرگ از دست او برامد چنانچه گذشت بتاریخ پانزدهم شهر ربیع الاول سنه سبع عشروثمان مائة دهلي را متصرف شد و باوجود استعداد سلطنت و اسباب ملک داري اسم بادشاهي بر خود اطلاق نمیکرد و برایات اعلی مخاطب بود و سکه و خطبه در ابتدا بنام امیر تیمور و در آخر بنام مرزا شاهرخ مقرر داشت و درآخر خطبه نام خضرخان هم مي بردند و دعا میکردند و ملک نجورا تاج الملک خطاب کرده وزیر ساخت سید سالم را سهارنپور عطا کرد و ملک عبدالرحیم پسر خوانده ملک سلیمان را علاء الملک خطاب داده ملتان و فتح پور حواله نمود ملک سرور را شحنه شهر ساخت ملک خیرالدین خاني را عارض ممالک نمود و ملک کالو را شحنهٔ فیل و ملک داؤد خدمت دبیري یافت اختیار خان را بمیان دواب تعین کرد و از خانه زادان سلطان محمود شاه هرکه وظیفه و ادراری داشت بحال خود مقرر داشته بجاگیر ایشان را رخصت کرد و هم در سنه مذکوره تاج الملک را با لشکر گران بجانب بداؤن و کیتهل فرستاد تا متمردان آن ولایت را گوشمال داده رعیت سازد تاج الملک از آب جون و گنگ گذشته بولایت کیتهل در آمده

زمینداران آن دیار را گوشمال بسزا فرمود و رای نرسنگه گریخته در دره انوله درامد و چون کار بدو تنگ شد از روی عجز مالگذاري نموده رعیتي اختیار کرد مهابت خان حاکم بداؤن نیز آمده ملازمت نمود از انجا بکنار آب رهب گرفته بگذر سرکدواري رسید و از آب گنگ گذشته کافران کهور که الان بشمس ابای اشتهار دارد و کنپله را انهزام داده از راه قصبه سکیت بقصبه پاد هم رفت حسین خان حاکم راپري و حمزه برادر او آمده دیدند و رای سر نیز مطیع و منقاد شده بخدمت رسید راجه گوالیار و راپري و چندوار نیز مالگذاري کردند و قصبه جلیسر را از دست راجپوتان چندوار براورده بمسلمانان قدیمي آن قصبه داده شقدار تعین نمود و از انجا بولایت گوالیار درامده غارت و تاراج کرده انچه مقرري هرساله بود از رای گوالیار گرفته از انجا بچندوار رفت و از بن سنگه زمین دار چندوار و کنپله و پتیالي مال گرفته نزدیک چندوار از آب جون گذشته بدهلي آمد و در ماه جمادي الاول سنه مذکوره خبر رسید که جماعة ترکان از قوم بیرم خان ترکیجه ملک سدهونا هر را که جانب شاهزاده مبارک خان حاکم سرهند بود بغدر کشته قلعه سرهند را متصرف شدند خضر خان زیرک خان را با لشکر گران برای ایشان تعین کرده ترکان از آب ستلد گذشته بکوه درامدند زیرک خان تعاقب کرده بکوه درامد و تا دو ماه تردد نموده بیحصول مقصود مراجعت کرد و در ماه رجب سنه مذکوره خبر آمد که سلطان احمد گجراتي قلعه ناگور را محاصره نموده است خضر خان جهت تسکین این از راه توده بجانب ناگور عزیمت نمود سلطان احمد جنگ نا کرده بولایت خود مراجعت کرده خضر خان برگشته بشهر نو عروس جهاین که از بناهای سلطان علاء الدین خلجي بود رفت الیاس حاکم آن شهر آمده دید مفسدان آن دیار را گوشمال داده متوجه

گوالیار شد چون گرفتن قلعه دشوار بود مال مقرري از راى گوالیار گرفته به بیانه رفت و از شمس خان اوحدي حاکم بیانه نیز باج گرفته بدهلي آمد ودر سنه عشرین و ثمان مائة خبربغي طوغان و بعضی ترکان که ملک سدهو را کشته بودند رسید زیرک خان حاکم سامانه بر سر ایشان تعین شد چون بسامانه قریب شد باغیان قلعه سرهند را گذاشته بجانب کوه رفتند ملک کمال بدهن که در قلعه بود نجات یافته بخدمت رسید زیرک خان مخالفان را تعاقب کرده بقصبه بابل رسید طوغان که صاحب ترکان بود انقیاد نموده پیشکش قبول کرده پسر خود را بگرو داد و ترکان کشنده ملک سدهو را از خود جدا کرده زیرک خان بجانب سامانه مراجعت نموده مال و پسر او را بخدمت خضرخان فرستاد و در سنه احدی و عشرین و ثمان مائة خضرخان تاج الملک را بر نرسنگه راجه کتهیر فرستاد چون لشکر از آب گنگ گذشته نرسنگه ولایت را خالي کرده در جنگل انوله درآمد و درپناه جنگل پاره تلاش نموده بهزیمت رفته اسپ وسلاح و سایر اسباب اوبدست افتاد افواج تا کوه کمایون تعاقب نموده و غنیمت بسیار بدست آورده روز پنجم بلشکر ملحق شد بعد ازان تاج الملک از راه بداون بکنار آب گنگ آمد و از گذر پچلانه عبور نموده و مهابت خان حاکم بداون را رخصت کرده باتاوه متحصن شده تاج الملک ولایت اتاوه را تاراج نموده آخر بصلح قرار داده و در ماه ربیع الاول سنه مذکور بشهر مراجعت کرد *

منتخب از کتاب تاریخ بداونی

مملوک الپ تگین که غلام امیر منصور بن نوح سامانی بود در سنه سبع و ستین و ثلثمائة بعد از وفات ابواسحٰق بن الپ تگین باتفاق سپاهي و رعیت و رئیسان برتخت سلطنت جلوس نمود علم ملک ستاني برافراشت و بغزا و جهاد کمر جد و اجتهاد بسته بطرف هندوستان تاخت آورده در سرحد ولایت کوه جود با جیپال که فرمانروای هند بود جنگی عظیم کرد باو صلح نموده و بعد از نقض عهد جیپال باردیگر با لشکرهای آراسته بمقدار یک لک سوار و فیلان کوه پیکر بیشمار قصد محاربه او داشته در نواحي لمغانات محاربه قوي کرد و نسیم ظفر بر پرچم امیر ناصرالدین وزیده شکست بر لشکر جیپال رسید و او گریخته بهند رفت و تا لمغانات بتصرف امیر ناصرالدین آمده خطبه و سکه بنام او رواج یافت و بکومک امیر نوح بن منصور سامانی رفته خراسان و ماوراءالنهر مصدر فتوحات عظیم گشت و درشعبان سنه سبع و ثمانین و ثلثمائة داعي حق را اجابت فرمود و مدت حکومت او بست سال *

یمین الدوله سلطان محمود بن ناصرالدین غزنوي * چون سبکتگین درشهر شعبان سنه سبع و ثمانین ثلثمائة در راه غزنین داعي حق را بسمل اجابت گفت پسر خود اسمعیل را ولیعهد گردانید چون این خبر بمحمود که پسر بزرگ سبکتگین بود رسید برادر را اعزنامه نوشت و طلب صلح کرد باین قصد که غزنین را اسمعیل بمحمود بدهد و در عوض آنولایت بلخ را بگیرد اسمعیل قبول نکرد و میان برادران کار محاربه انجامید و محمود غالب

آمد و اسمعیل را بعد شکست ششماه در غزنین محاصره داشت بعد ازان نیکخواهان درمیان آمده میان ایشان صلح دادند واسمعیل آمده محمود را دید و حکومت بیمین الدوله قرار گرفت و میان محمود و منصور بن نوح سامانی و برادرش عبدالملک بن نوح منازعت روی داد آخر محمود غالب آمد و امرای عبدالملک فایق و مکتورون نیز محاربه نموده از پیش محمود منهزم شدند و سلطنت تمام خراسان و غزنین و حدود هندوستان بر محمود مسلم گشت چون مادرش دختر رئیس زابل بود بدین سبب محمود زابلي میگویند چنانچه فردوسي میگوید *

بیت

خجسته درگه محمود زابلي دریاست
چگونه دریا کانرا کناره پیدا نیست
شدم بدریا و غوطه زدم ندیده در
گناه بخت منست این گناه دریا نیست

و اورا با خلیفه بغداد القادر بالله عباسي اول مراسلات عشقیه واقع شد آخر خلیفه خلعتی فاخر باسایر نفایس و ذخایر روانه داشته لقب یمین الملت ویمین الدوله برای او فرستاد و از غزنین به بلخ و هراة رفته درسنه سبع و ثمانین و ثلثمائة در ضبط آورده بغزنین باز گشته آمد فقط *

ایضاً منه

و روز دیگر بتماشای قلعه رفته حکم مرمت و تعمیر بشکست و ریخت آن فرمودند و در اثنای آن تماشای چند دیگ بزرگ و ضرب زنگ عظیم که سلیمان سلطان خوانده کار روم در وقت عزیمت تسخیر بندر گجرات با سپاهي گران براه دریا روانه ساخته آخر بتقریب مانعي آن لشکر بطرف شد و آن دیگها از ان زمان باز درکنار دریا ماند و خداوند خان وزیر در زمان تعمیر صورت

همه را درون قلعه آورد و آنچه مانده حاکم جوناگره دران قلعه کشیده بود بنظر درآمد و فرمودند آنجا چنداني درکار نیست و در قلعه اگره برند و میگویند که باعث بنای خداوند خان این قلعه را آن بود که فرنگیان انواع ضرر و ایذا با اهل اسلام میرسانیدند و در تخریب بلاد و تعذیب عباد میکوشیدند و در هنگام شروع در تعمیر تقصیر درانداختن خلل نه نموده ازان آتشبازي بسیار بکشتیها سردادند و بجای نرسید و آن مهندس آئین دقیقه شناس اساس محاوطه قلعه را باب برده و خندق نیز همچنان عمیق کنده دیوار دو طرف حصار را که متصل بخشکي است بسنگ و خشت پخته براوردند و طول دیوار سي و پنج گز و عرض چهار دیوار قلعه پانزده گز و ارتفاع آن چون عرض خندق بیست گز و میانه هردو سنگ را بقلاب آهنین پیوند کرده هر چهار دروازه را بسرب گداخته مستحکم گردانیده و کنکرها و سنگ اندازها بابنیه بلند خوش نما که نظر تماشاوران حیران بماند و هر برج دریا رویه قلعه غرفه ساخته که بزعم فرنگیان مخصوص پرتکال واختراع ایشان است و فرنگیان در ساختن آن چوکندي خیلی مانع آمده دست بمحاربه و مجادله کشادند و عاقبت از در صلح درآمده مبلغهای کلي قبول نمودند تا آن چوکندي را برطرف سازند خداوند خان بتعصب و حمیت اسلام همت عالي را کار فرموده هیچ قبول نکرده بر رغم آن جماعه خاطر ازان عمارت در اندک مدت پرداخت و حکومت قلعه را در همان روز به پسر قلیچ خان سپرده چهاردهم ذیقعده متوجه احمدآباد شدند و دران ایام محاصره قلعه چند روی نمود فقط *

ایضاً منه

و از جمله وقایع این سال ترجمه مهابهارت که معظم کتب

هند است مشتمل بر انواع قصص و مواعظ و مصالح و اخلاق و اداب و معارف و اعتقادات و بیان مذاهب و طریق عبادات ایشان در ضمن جنگ طایفه گوران و پندوان که فرمان روایان هند بودند وبعضی میگویند که چهار هزار سال و بقول جمعی هشتاد وچند هزار سال گذشته و ظاهرا از زمان آدم علیه‌السلام پیش اند و کفره هند خواندن و نوشتن آنرا عبادت عظیم میدانند و از مسلمانان پنهان میدارند و باعث برین آن بود که چون شاه‌نامه و قصهٔ امیر حمزه را بهفده جلد در مدت پانزده سال نویسانیده و زر بسیار در تصویر آن خرچ شده همچنین قصه ابومسلم و جامع الحکایات و غیر آن را مکرر شنیدند بخاطر رسانیدند که اکثر اینها شاعري و ساختگي است اما چون در ساعت خوب گفته شده و اختر درگذر بوده شهرت تمام گرفته اکنون کتابها هندي را که دانایان مرتاض عابد نوشته اند و همه صحیح و نص قاطع است و مدار دین و اعتقادات و غلبات این طایفه بران است ترجمه از هندي بزبان فارسي فرموده چرا بنام خود نسازیم که غیر مکرر و تازه است و همه مثمر سعادات دنیوي و دیني و منتج حشمت وشوکت بیزوال و مستوجب کثرت اولاد و اموال چنانچه در خطب آن کتب نوشته اند بنابرین خود مقید شده و دانایان هند را جمع کرده حکم فرمودند که کتاب مهابهارت را تعبیر میکرده باشند و چند شب بنفس نفیس معاني آنرا نقیب خان خاطر نشان ساختند تا ما حصل را بفارسي املا میکرد و شب سیوم فقیر را طلب فرموده حکم کردند که باتفاق نقیب خان ترجمه میکرده باشم و در مدت سه چار ماه از هیزده فن آن مزخرف لاطایل که هیزده هزار عالم دران متحیر است دو فن نوشته شد وچه اعتراضات که نشنید و حرام خورم و شلغم خورم اینمعني داشت گویا نصیبهٔ فقیر ازین کتابها همین بود النصیب نصیب

بعد ازان پاره را ملا شبري و نقيب خان تمام ساختند و پارهٔ را سلطان حاجي تهانيسري منفرد باتمام رسانيد بعد ازان شيخ مامور شد که نظم و نثر بنويسد و آن هم بيشتر از دو فن صورت نيافت باز حاجي مذکور انرا نوشت و فروگذاشتی که بار اول واقع شده بود قصور آنرا راست کرده خذ و النعل بالنعل مرتب ساخته صد جز مخطط شده سخن در نقطه مگس بود که از اصل متروک نماند عاقبت بتقريبي حکيم باخراج وی کرده در بکر فرستادند و حالا در شهر خود است و اکثری ازان معبران و مترجمان درين ايام باگوروان و پاندوان محشورند و باقي مندگان را خدا يتعالی نجات بخشد و توبه کرامت فرمايد و عذر الامن کرده و قلبه مطمئن بالايمان مسموع دارد انه هو التواب الرحيم و ان را رزم نامه ناميده مصور و مکرر نويسانيده با مرا حکم انتساخ آن تيمنا و تبرکا صادر شد و شيخ ابو الفضل برعکس تفسير اية الکرسي که تاليف داده بود خطبه نيز بمقدار دو جز و بران نوشت نعوذ بالله من الکفريات والحشويات جامع اوراق عفی الله عنه معروض ميدارد که در وقايع اين سال که بنابر غرضي طريق استطراد و اجمال رقم زده کلک سريع السير شده اگر ضبط تاريخ و ملاحظه تقديم و تاخير نه نموده باشد مواخذه نفرمايند فقط *

منتخب از کتاب مجمل التواریخ

حدیث زط و میذ

بحکم آنکه اول کتاب این ذکر بود هم برآن سان ابتدا بدین فصل کردم گویند دو گروه بودند بزمین سند و رودي که آنرا بهر خوانند یکي را میذ خواندندی ودویمي را زط از فرزندان حام واکنون به لفظ عرب اندر هندوان را زط خوانند پس چنان روایت است که میذیان بر زطیان غلبه داشتندی و همي رنجانیدندی تا ازان جایگاه تحویل کردند و برو دیهن اندر برفتند و ازآن روی جایگاهی مقام گرفتند و ایشان ملاحي دانستند ودرآب بیامدندی بتاختن میذیان و ایشان خداوندان گوسفندان بودند تا کار چنان گشت که زطیان ایشانرا زبون کردند و بسیاری را کشتند و غارت نمودند و میذیان مسخر زط شدند پس به نصیحت مهتري از آل زط ایشانرا گفت روزگار چنین نماند یکچندی برما بود از ایشان واکنون از ما بر ایشان است صواب آنست که با ایشان صلح کنیم و باتفاق آن ما و ایشان سوی ملک دجوشن بن دهرات رویم و ازوی درخواهیم تا این زمین مارا پادشاهي فرستند تا ما و ایشان در فرمان وی باشیم وعاقبت نیکوگردد مردمان گفتند هرچه تو رای بینی بعد بسیاري مناظرها و حکایات حکمت این کار تمام کردند و ملک دجوشن آن ولایات بخواهرش داد دسل بنت دهرات و او را بجندرت داده بود ملکی بزرگ پس بیا مد و این زمین را بگرفتند و شهرها وغیر آن و فرزانگي دسل در کتاب گفتنت پس درآن کشور هیچ دانا و برهمن نیافت بدان بزرگواري و پر نعمتي و جاهی پیش برادر نامه نوشت دراز بدین سبب دجوشن

سي هزار مرد برهمن ازهمه زمین هندوان بخواست وباهمه رخت وپیوستگان بخواهر فرستاد و ذکر مناظره ها برهمنان ومثلها گفتنت بسیاری تاولایت سند آباد گشت وصفت نهار ولایت وجویها وعجایب ذکر کرده وبناء شهرها ودارالملک را شهری کرد نام او عسقلند وگوشهٔ آن ولایت زطیان را داد ومهتری بپای کرد نام او جودرت ومیدیانرا همچنین جایگاهی بداد وبست ودو سال اندرین پادشاهي بماند تاملک ازبهارتان برفت چنانکه گفته شود بعد ازین *

ایضًا منه

حدیث ملک کشمیر وهال چنین گویند که هال از فرزندان سنجواره بود پسر جندرت دختر زادهٔ دهرات ملک و بزمین هندوستان ملک یافت آنجایگاه که جندرت ودسل و ایشان کرده بودند وسخت بزرگ گشت وجایگاه نیکو ساخت وشهرها وبدان زمین جایهاء نیکو یافتند وبیرون نتوانستند برد مگر تانشان ملک بر انجا بودی ورسم آن بودی که پای خویش بزعفران آلوده برآن جامه نهادی پس چنان افتاد که ازآن جامه زن ملک کشمیر بخرید وبدوخت چون پیش ملک اندر رفت نشان پای دید برآن رشکش آمد وگفت این چیست واز کجا آوردي زن گفت از فلان بازرگان خریدم ملک او را بخواند و ازآن حال باز پرسید بازرگان گفت نشان پای ملک هال است سوگند خورد که هردو پای او ببرد وزیر گفتا آنجایگاه زمین برهمنان است نتوان پیروزي یافتن نشنید وباسپاه برفت پس ازین کارهال فروماند وبرهمنان را پیغام فرستاد که ازمن چیزی همي خواهد ازاندام من وآن را دشوار توان کرد برهمنان دعا کردند وفرمودند که پیلی ازگل بسازید وپیش حرب بدارید هال همچنان کرد و ازآن پیل آتش همي جست وسپاه کشمیر که سپهدار پیش آمده بودند

بسیاری بسوختند وآخر ملک کشمیر بصلح فراز آمد از ضرورت و هال بسیار هدیها فرستاد وصورتی بکردند از موم ملک کشمیر پای آن ببرید گفت سوگند راست کردم وباز بکشت براه دریا گفتند آب غلبه دارد بشنید و بر ساحل بیامد بر منزلی که آب کمتر گشت چند فرسنگ از عرض و ملک کشمیر آنجایگاه عمارتها کرد و دیهها ودریا را بزبان هندوي ساوندر خوانند وآنجا را ساوندری نام نهادند وهم برآن سان بماند وبه بسیار جایها بتکده کرد وشهرهای خوب تا از دشمني خبر آمدش بکشمیر پس سوی ولایت بازگشت و دشمن را غلبه کرد پادشاهي بماند اندر فرزندانش و همه هندوان بطاعت و زمین سند را سه ملک بودند تا آخر کشور هندوان بر ملک قفند قرار گرفت بعد از آنکه بمردي غلبه کرد ایشان را وبرهمنی او را دعاکرده بود که جمله بادشاهی او را گردد و اسلام *

ایضاً منه

ذکر فرزندان قفند از پس قفند پسرش ایند بپادشاهی بنشست ولایت سند بچهار قسمت کرد ملک را بعسقلند وسه بنشاند و دیگری را بولایت زوروانیچ متعلق است بدان وسدیگر ولایت ساینه ملکی دیگر را داد وچهارم زمین هندوستان و ندمه و لوها نه جدا گانه دیگری را سپرد و این از پس هال بود چون روزگار ایند سپری شد پسرش راسل بادشاه گشت و مدتی بماند تا یکی بوي برساخت واورا از بادشاهی بیرون کرد و راسل بناحیت جنوب امد و لنجامقام گرفت و اورا دو پسر بود یکی را نام روال و دیگر برقماریص خرد بود*

منتخب از کتاب تاریخ حقي

ذکر سلطنت ناصرالدین محمود

بعد ازان سلطان ناصرالدین محمود بن سلطان شمس الدین باتفاق و اجماع بر سریر سلطنت دهلي نشست صاحب طبقات ناصری گوید که انچه حق تعالی از اخلاق انبیا و اوصاف اولیا درذات معظم این بادشاه وبادشاه زاده ودیعت نهاده است و درعنصر میمون او تعبیه کرده از تقوی و دیانت و زهادت و صیانت شفقت و مرحمت و معدلت و انعام و مکرمت و حیا و صفا و ثبات و وقار و صیام و قیام وتلاوت وعبادت وکم ازاري وبرد باري ومحبت علم وعلما و مودت مشایخ تا دیگر متعلقي گزیده و آثار پسندیده که از لوازم سلطنت و مواجب مملکت باشد باتفاق اهل عصر درذات هیچ بادشاهی از سلاطین ایام ماضیه و ملوک قرون سابقه نوراللہ مراقدهم جمع نبود و طهارت ذیل وصفت ظاهر وباطن این سلطان بن سلطان اعلی شانه واعظم برهانه چندانست که بتحریر وتقریر راست نیاید و سلطان شمس الدین او را بنام و نصب پسر کلان خود ناصرالدین محمود که حاکم لکهنوتی بود وهمدر زمان سلطنت وی از عالم رفت خوانده بود سلطان ناصرالدین بعد از جلوس برسریر سلطنت هرسال فتحي وکاری کرد که ازانجا عزت اسلام وشوکت مسلمانان بظهور رسید وشیوه عدل پروري و داد گستري بوجود آمد وخلیفه و نایب وثاني درکل امور سلطنت ومهام مملکت ایشان معظم بود که داماد پدروی بود بعد ازوی سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن لقب یافت و این غیاث الدین از غلامان شمسي بود بحسب قابلیتی

که داشت سلطان ناصرالدین دختراورا گرفت و زمام مهام مملکت بدست اختیاروی داد و بعد از خود ولیعهد گردانیده از دارفنا بدار بقا رحلت فرمود و این سلطان ناصرالدین را الآن نصیرالدین غازي گویند وخیراو مطاف و مزار عموم خلق است و مدت بادشاهي وی نوزده سال بود وطبقات ناصري بنام وی تالیف یافته تاسال پانزدهم که سنه ثمان و خمسین و ستمائة باشد نوشته است *

ایضاً منه

فیروز شاه بر سریر جهانباني جلوس کرد و او را مبارز خان که خال او بود کشت چنانچه سلیم شاه با زوجه خود که خواهر مبارزخان بود از روی فراست میگفت که اگر زندگي پسر میخواهي برادر را بکشتن اذن بمن ده و یا دست از حیات پسر بردار آنعورت ناقص عقل این سخن را نفهمید و بقتل برادر راضي نشد آخر همچنان شد که سلیم شاه گفته بود بادشاهی فیروز شاه از سه روز و پنج گهري پیش نرفت بعد ازین جمیع افغانان که اقارب ایشان بودند بدعوي سلطنت برآمدند یکي خود را سکندر خطاب کرد و دیگری سلطان ابراهیم و آخري سلطان محمد عادل و بجنگ و جدال و نزع وقتال بیکدیگر درافتادند تا سه چهار سال فتنه و فساد و هرج و شور وغوغای این افاغنه درمیان بود که ناگاه در شهر شوال سنه ثلث و ستین و تسعمائة باز همای سلطنت همایون بر سر ممالک هندوستان سایه سعادت وکرامت انداخت و غبار وحشت و پریشاني که بر جمال دولت این سلطنت ابد مدت نشسته بود باب تسکین و جمعیت شسته شد و جانی نو در قالب مملکت درآمده موجب سرور و عیش و کامراني و شکرگذاري خاص و عام گشت و آمید های بی اندازه از بواطن امرا و فقرا سر برزد هنوز شش ماه کامل از قدوم مسرت

لزوم همایونیه نگذشته بود که وقت شام در قلعه شاه دین پناه دهلي برکشک لعل که از بناهای سلطاني بود بتفرج هوا برآمده استاده بود وبقصد تعظیم استماع اذان مغرب خواست که جلوس فرماید ناگاه پای سریر فرسای بلغزید و ازان بلندي برزمین افتاد همان ساعت یابعد از چند روز طایر روح پرفتوح باشیان جنت پرید انا لله و انا الیه راجعون بعد ازوی پسروی سلطان عظیم الشان رفیع المکان اسد المعارک و المغازي ابوالفتح جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه غازي خلد الله فی مراضیه ملکه و سلطانه و افاض علی العالمین بره و احسانه که خلیفه عهد و سلطان زمان و شهنشاه دوران و حاکم علی الاطلاق و پادشاه افاق است در اوان صغیر و عنفوان عمر پای عزت و عظمت برسریر سلطنت و جهانباني و تخت کامراني نهاد و از اول جلوس تا الآن که مدت سلطنت عظمی و دولت کبری این شهنشاه عالي نژاد عالم مدار اقالیم ستان زیاده بر چهل سال گذشته هنوز عنفوان سلطنت و آغاز دولت است بهر روز فتحی تازه و نصرتی بلند اوازه بمحض توفیق رباني و مدد اسماني بظهور میرسد تا آنکه جمیع اکناف و اطراف ممالک هندوستان تا اقصی بلاد شرقي و غربي و جنوبي و شمالي و سایر بقاع وبلاد وقلاع و حصون چهار دانگ هندوستان بی شرکت و مزاحمت غیر در قبضه اقتدار و حوزه اختیار این سلطان جهانگیر گیتي ستان مفوض و مسلم گشته و از سه طرف ملک بدریای شور پیوسته و جمیع پادشاهان و پادشاهزادگان و ملوک و امرا ورایان و راجها و تمام طوایف آنام و کافه اصناف خلایق از خاص و عام در ربقه اطاعت و سلک ملازمت و سلسله ارادت این درگاه معلي و حضرت علیا درامده سربر خاک مذلت و زمین غربت نهاده اند و انچه از اسپ و فیل و لشکر وسپاه و اسباب و ولایت و اموال و خزاین و دیگر مواد جهانداري

درحیطه تصرف و اقتدار بندگان این درگاه فلک جاه درآمده متجاوز از حد حصر و احصا و خارج از حیطه عدد و شمار است و به هیچ سلاطین با تقدم نبود *

بیت

با وجود طول عمر خسروان کس را نشد
انچه اورا شد میسر زاول عهد شباب

و لیس من الله مستنکران یجمع العالم في واحد و بحقیقت از پادشاهان و ملوک و سلاطین که درین اوراق مذکور شده اند ذکر آنجا درحضرت عالي مرتبش و اطلاق لفظ پادشاهی بر ایشان با اسم عظیم الشان از محض خطا و سوء ادب است الادوسه کس ازین میان باشند که شاید بطریق مجاز و باعتبار صورت توان نام شان برد و ان نیز بی گوشه جرات و جسارت نخواهد بود القصه تفصیل فتوحات و جهان ستاني و قواعد و ضوابط و روابط عالمگیري و عجایب و غرایب احکام و اوامر و اوضاع واختراعات این شهنشاه زمان در دفاتر و مجلدات نگنجد اگر مدت عمر قسمت پیدا کرد و توفیق و تائید پروردگار دستگیري فرمود حسب الطاقت و الامکان بدل مجهود و صرف همت نموده بتقصیر دران راضي نخواهد شد انشاء الله تعالی حق سبحانه تصرف و تائید دین مبین و تقویت و تمشیت شرع متین بر دست توفیق این شهنشاه و فرمان روای زمین و زمان مخلد و موید داراد آمین یا رب العالمین *

ایضاً منه

ذکر تسلط یوسف خان بعد ازو پسر وی یوسف خان را یوسف شاه ملقب ساخته بجای او نصب کردند و ابدال خان را که عموی او بود بگفته سید مبارک و نیز باتفاق جمعی کثیر بقصد فتنه برآمده سر از اطاعت یوسف شاه پیچید یوسف شاه بر سر

ایشان رفت و چون محمد خان که باعتماد مبادرت او سوار شده بود بقتل رسید یوسف شاه امان طلبیده بهرسو رفت وسید مبارك بحکومت نشست و بعد چند گاه یوسف شاه بموجب کنایتهای کشمیریان باز قصد کشمیر نمود وسید مبارک برآمده او را هزیمت نهاد یوسف شاه بکوههای اطراف بگریخت وسید مبارک بفتح و فیروزي بکشمیر آمد وقتی دیگر چکان همه اتفاق کرده یوسف شاه راطلبیدند سید مبارک از استماع اینخبر اضطراب نمود و کس را پیش یوسف شاه فرستاد تا بوی بگوید که من شمارا بسلطنت قبول دارم و ازعمل خود پشیمانم یوسف شاه درراه بود که بوی خبر رسید که کشمیریان بلوهه که سرامد چکان بود قرار سلطنت دادند یوسف شاه هم از راه برگشته پیش شد یوسف شاه که ازامرای نامدار بندگان اکبر شاهی بود بلاهورا مد وباتفاق شد یوسف شاه و راجه مانسنگ که آلان کلان ترین امرا بحسب استعداد لشکر هست وسرامد جمیع راجها که درخدمت بندگان حضرت اند اوست بفتح پور آمده بملازمت بندگان حضرت استفاد یافت و در سنه سبع و ثمانین یوسف خان باتفاق راجه مان سنگه به تسخیر کشمیر رخصت یافته در حدود کشمیر درآمده و باتفاق جمیع کشمیریان مقابل برآمده بر کنار بهت منزل گرفت بعد چند روز جنگی صعب روی داده اخر بامداد و اعانت بندگان حضرت نسیم فتح و فیروزي بریرچم دولت یوسف خان و زید *

منتخب از زبدة التواریخ تصنیف نورالحق

ذکر سلطان شمس الدین التمس

سلطان شمس الدین التمس پادشاه عادل و منصف و کریم و جواد و غازي و مجاهد و مرابط و عالم پرور و عدل گستر بود و در تعظیم مشایخ و علما و زهاد از پادشاهان نظیر نداشت و انعام عام او شامل اصناف خلایق و طوایف مردم بود از سادات و علما و مشایخ و ملوک و امرا و کبرا و دهاقین و تجار و غربا و غیرهم را هر سال از لک زیاده بذل میفرمود و خلایق را از اطراف گیتي و آفاق عالم بحضرت دهلي که دار الملک هندوستان است و مرکز دایرهٔ اسلام است و حوزهٔ دین محمدي و بیضه ملت احمدي و قبة الاسلام عالم صانها الله عن الآفات و المخافات جمع آورده واین شهر عظیم بکثرت انعامات و شمول کرامات آن پادشاه دیندار محیط رجال افاضل آفاق و ملجا و ملاذ و مهرب و مامن اهل عالم گشت و شمس الدین نیز از غلامان ترکي بود اول بدست یکی از اقربای صدر جهان به بخارا فروخت شد و دران خاندان عزت و دودمان طهارت تربیت یافت و ازانجا بدست تاجری دیگر فروخت شد از و بدست دیگری افتاد تا او را بغزنین آوردند و درآن مدت هیچ غلامی ترک باین حسن و جمال و اوصاف حمیده و اخلاق مرضیه نیامده بود و ذکر وی بخدمت سلطان معز الدین سام عرضداشت آمد فرمود تا او را قیمت کردند او با دیگر ترک دریک سلک بود و هزار دینار زرکني قیمت او متعین شد مالک وی در فروختن او مضایقه نمود سلطان معز الدین فرمود تا هیچ آفریده او را نخرد مالکش باز به بخارا برد و بعد از مدت سه سال بغزنین آمد بفرمان سلطان او را کس نمیخرید چون سلطان

قطب الدین از غزنین و نهر واله و فتح گجرات بغزنین رفت و حکایت شمس الدین را سماع کرد از سلطان معزالدین اجازت خواست تا اورا ببخرد قطب الدین آن هردو غلام ترک را بیک لک جیتل بخرید و با خود بدهلي آورد و آن ترک دیگر را طغاج نام نهاد و امیر سرهند کرد و شمس الدین التمس را فرزند خوانده بخود نزدیک گردانید و هر روز مرتبه و جاه و شرف او را زیاده فرمود و چون آثار رشد در حرکات و سکنات او معاینه کرد اورا امیر شکار گردانید بعد ازان چون کالیور فتح کرد امیر کالیور شد بعد ازان اقطاع بدن بداون بوی داد در خدمت سلطان معزالدین و قطب الدین در دیار خوارزم و ترکستان و هندوستان فتح های عظیم و کارهای بزرگ کرد پس خط اعتاق اورا در تحریر آوردند و بنظر پادشاهانه محفوظ و ملحوظ گشت چون سلطان قطب الدین در لاهور بدار بقا رحلت نمود ملوك و امرا باتفاق او را بر تخت سلطانی دهلي نشانیدند و وی در زمان سلطنت خویش نیز در بلاد هندوستان از اوچه و سیوستان و سیالکوت و سرهند و کهرام و قنوج و ترهت و کالیور و اجمیر و گجرات و ملتان و لکهنوتي و بهار و مالوه و مندو و اجین و دیگر اطراف و اکناف این ولایت فتح های عظیم کرد *

ایضاً منه

و از جمله حوادثی که در اوایل عهد سلطان رضیه افتاد بزرگتر آن بود که قرامطه و ملاحده هندوستان باغوای شخصی که اورا نور ترک گفتندی از اطراف ممالک هند و گجرات و ولایت وسند و اطراف دار الملک دهلي و سواحل جون و گنگ در دهلي جمع شدند و در پیر باهم بیعت نموده قصد اهل الاسلام کردند و این نور ترک تذکر میگفت و اوباش جمع می آمدند و علماء سنت و جماعت را ناجي میگفت و مرجي نام میکرد و خلق

عوام را بر عداوت طوائف علماء مذهب ابوحنیفه و شافعي تحریص می نمود تا میعاد بنهادند وتمام طوائف ملاحده وقرامطه روز جمعه ششم ماه رجب سنه اربع و ثلثین و ستمائة بقدر یکهزار مرد با سلاح از شمشیر و سپر و غیره آن بدوفوج شده بمسجد درآمدند و ازهردو طرف تیغ بر مسلمانان نهادند و خلق بسیار بعضي به تیغ آن ملاحده وبعضي زیرپای خلق شهید گشتند و چون بسبب این فتنه نفیر از خلق برامد مبارزان حضرت ودیگر مردان با جرءت درمسجد در آمدند وتیغ درملاحده وقرامطه گرفتند و همه را بدوزخ فرستادند*

ایضاً منه

شیخ رزق الله مشتاقي عم شیخ عبد الحق قدس سره

برادر جد محرر سطور شیخ رزق الله مشتاقي تاریخ نامه از ابتدای عهد سلطنت سلطان بهلول تا مبادي جلوس سلطان عهد خود نوشته و واقعات مشتاقي نام کرده است و اصل دران کتاب و عمده بیان احوال و اوصاف سلطان سکندر است که نشو نماء مرحومي جناب مومی الیه دران عهد بود حماید اوصاف سلطان مذکور و امرای وی و عجائب و غرائب که در زمان وی دیده یا شنیده نگاشته است بعضي ازان حکایات و نوادرات مشهور مردم عالم گشته که در حق غیر سلطان مذکور نیز میگویند غالبا وجود و وقوع آن دراز منه دیگر و درین زمان نیز واقع شده باشد وشیخ رزق الله مردی کامل و عارف و درعلم و فضل و جامعیت ودرمحبت وذوق و وجدان معرفت و حقیقت و استقامت و نقل حکایات مشائخ و تواریخ ملوك و لطایف و ظرائف یگانه عصر و یادگار سلف خود بود بزبان فارسي وهندي شعری دارد تخلص ایشان درزبان فارسي مشتاقي است ودر

هندوي راجن و پيمائن و جوت نرنجن و جز آن از رسايل فارسي و هندي ايشان مشهور افاق است تولد ايشان در نهصد و يک و وفات ايشان در نهصد و شصت و نه و ايشان نه برادر بودند همه در صفات مذکور و حيد زمانه خود مردم دهلي اتفاق داشتند که دهلي عبارت از ايشان است رحمت الله عليهم اجمعين *

ايضاً منه

در باب کشته شدن بيربل

همدرين سال افواج قاهره که بدفع خلاف و فتنه يوسف زئي رفته بود شخصي براجه بيربل که بسرکردگي بود گفت که افاغنه امشب داعيه شب خون دارند عرض کوه تنگي از سه چهار کروه بيش نيست اگر ازين تنگي عبور شود از دغدغه خاطر جمع گردد بيربل بي اتفاق زين خان اراده گذشتن ازان کوتل نمود و تمام لشکر از عقب او کوچ کرده در آخر آنروز که قريب مغرب بود متوجهه تنگي شد افغانان از اطراف بالا کوه رسيده از تنگي کوه به تير و سنگ گرفته و در تنگي راه و تاريکي شب خلايق راه گم کردند و در گو و مغاک های عميق افتاده راه هلاک سپردند و بحکم قضاء خداوندي شکست عظيم رسيده قريب هشت هزار آدمي بمنزل فنا رفت و راجه بيربل که از ترس جان فرار پيش گرفته بود هلاک شد چنانچه نشانی از وی نيافتند و ز پنخان و حکيم ابوالفتح در پنجم ربيع الاول سال مذکور شکست يافته بمحنت بسيار به قلعه اٹک رسيدند و اينمعني بر خاطر اشرف گران آمد و چندگاه ايشانرا بار کورنش ندادند و راجه نودرمل را با لشکری آراسته بتلافي اين امر تعين فرمودند و راجه از روی کاردانی در کوهستان در آمده چند جا قلعه ساخت و دقيقه از تدبير نامرعي نگذاشته عالم وسيع را بر افاغنه تنگ ساخت *

منتخب از تاریخ روضة الطاهرین

سلطان محمد عادل * در سنه نهصد و شصت و یک فرمانفرما گردیده اکثر سران سپاه را رعیت نمود و میان معروف را که پدر خواندهٔ سلیم خان بود بحضور طلبید و میان معروف بعذر گذرانیده میان شاه محمد را با سکندر پسر زادهٔ خود بخدمت فرستاد وسرمست خان درحضورعدلي بمیان شاه‌محمد اظهار کرد که سلطان سرکار قنوج را از تغیر شمایان بمن عنایت فرموده اند باید که بجهت خود جای دیگر التماس نمایند سکندر بعدلي گفت که ازین بندها چه تقصیر واقع شده که جاگیر قدیم مارا باین قوم سگ فروش التفات میفرمایند و سرمست خان میخواست که بحیله سکندر را دستگیر ساخته هلاك گرداند سکندر واقف شده بضرب خنجر سرمست خان را از پای درآورد و بجانب سلطان محمد عادل دوید و سلطان محمد عادل گریخته بدرون محل درآمد وحاضران بگریختند و ملا مجد الدین که از جمله وزرا بود از بیخودي و بی شعوري بر دیواری سوار شده تصور میکرد که اسپ منست و پاشنه میزد و نظر سکندر برو افتاده گفت که بحال خود باش که ترا امان دادم و سکندر خان چند امرای دیگر را هلاك ساخت و ابراهیم خان سور و جمعي اتفاق نموده بشمشیر و نیزه سکندررا بملک عدم فرستادند و دولت خان لوهاني بعد از کشته شدن شاه محمد و فرزندان خوشحال شدند و تقلید سلطان محمد تغلق شاه نمود تنکه طلا و نقره در حقه کمال پیوسته با طراف و اکناف شهر مي انداخت و بخانه و بدست هرکه مي افتاد آن تنکه را بدرگاه آورد پانصد تنکه از خزانه درعوض

آن باو میدادند و امرا و سران سپاه سلطان محمد را در امور سلطنت
بی پروا یافته هرکسی در ولایتی که حاکم بود سر از اطاعت پیچید
و هیمون که بقال ریواري بود نیز با سلطان محمد تقرب تمام
بهمرسانیده بمرتبه سپه سالاري رسید و شمشیرخان و غلام شیرخان
که خواص خان بود به دولت خان ملقب شد و تاج خان کراني
باعماد و سلیمان برادران خود از خدمت سلطان محمد عدلي
انحراف و رزیده از گوالیار بجانب بهار و بنگاله برآمدند و سلطان
محمد منهزم گشت و خود را بحصار چنار که در نهایت استحکام
است رسانیده متحصن شد و هیمون بقال با سپاه گران و حلقهای
فیل از دریای گنگ عبور نموده با مرای جنگ نموده شکست
داد و حصار چنار را بگرفت و ازین ترددات استقلال تمام بهمرسانید
درینوقت ابراهیم خان بن غازیخان سور که عمزادهٔ عدلي بود
و خواهر عدلي را درعقد نکاح خود داشت متوهم شده بجانب
بیانه شتافت و سلطان محمد عیسی خان نیازي را بدفع او نامزد
فرمود و در حدود کالپي جنگ کردند عیسی خان نیازي منهزم
شد و ابراهیم خان بدهلي رفته اکثر قصبات و پرگنات را متصرف
گشت و خطبه و سکه بنام خود نموده بسلطان ابراهیم مخاطب شد
و سلطان محمد عدلي ازین سبب مهم کرانیان را موقوف داشته
بکوچ متواتر آمد و درکنار دریای جون لشکرگاه ساخت
و ابراهیم خان وکلا فرستاده سلطان محمد عدلي گفت که اگر حسن
جلواني و بهارخان شیرواني که با عظم همایون اشتهار داشت
با چند کس دیگر از امرای نامي بیایند و مرا مطمئن خاطر
گردانند بملازمت مشرف خواهد شد و سلطان محمد عدلي
امرای مذکور را همراه گرفت و ابراهیم خان امرا را ایل ساخته
از شهر بیرون آمد و در برابر عدلي منزل نمود و عدلي تاب نیاورده
برگشت و جاگیرداران ولایت پنجاب مثل تاتارخان کاشي

و هیبت خان و نصیب خان را که خواهر عدلی در نکاح او بود بسلطنت برداشته به سلطان سکندر ملقب گردانیده بعزم رزم سلطان ابراهیم رفتند و در ظاهر موضع فره که ده گروهی اگره است رسیدند و سلطان سکندر از بسیاری غنیم اندیشناک شده بصلح راضی گشت و خواست که ولایت پنجاب را باو واگذارد از حد سرهند و دهلی تمامی مملکت هندوستان تعلق بسلطان ابراهیم داشته باشد و سلطان محمد بصلح راضی نشد • بعد از جنگ منهزم شد و بطرف سنبل بدر رفت و ملک اگره و دهلی بتصرف سکندر درآمد و همدران ایام حضرت نصیرالدین محمد همایون بادشاه از کابل بلاهوز تشریف آوردند و سکندر متوجه لاهور شده باسپاه مغول جنگ کرده شکست یافت وبکوهستان در آمد و سلطان محمد عدلی فرصت یافته هیمون را به تسخیر ولایت اگره و دهلی فرستاد و سلطان ابراهیم که از سنبل بجمعیت تمام روانه اگره بود دراثناء راه درنواحی کالپی با هیمون جنگ کرده منهزم گشت و به پدر خود که در بیانه حاکم بود پیوست و هیمون ازعقب سلطان ابراهیم درآمده تا مدت سه ماه حصار بیانه را که برقله کوه رفیع واقع است محاصره نمود دریندوقت محمد خان گوریه استقلال تمام بهم رسانیده بعزم تسخیر جونپور شتافت و سلطان محمد عدلی دفع محمد خان گوریه را برکارهای دیگر ترجیح داده به هیمون نوشت که دست از محاصره سلطان ابراهیم کوتاه کرده بجنگ محمد خان گوریه شتابد و هیمون ازپای قلعه بیانه بطرف جونپور روان شده سلطان ابراهیم ازحصار بیانه برآمده مرتبه دیگر با هیمون مجادله نموده شکست یافته بولایت پتنه رفته با راجه رام چند زمیندار آن مرز بوم جنگ کرده گرفتار شده راجه رام چند تعظیم واحترام او بجا می آورد بروش خادمان و چاکران تملق و تواضع می نمود تا آنکه درمیان جماعه افغان

میانه باز بهادر بن شجاع خان که در ولایت مالوه حاکم بود مخالفت و عداوت تمام دست داد و قوم میانه سلطان ابراهیم را از پتنه طلبیدند که بوسیله او باز بهادر را مغلوب و منهزم سازند و عاقبت آن مدعا بحصول نانجامید و سلطان ابراهیم مایوس شده بجانب بنگاله رفته براجه اودیسه پیوست و در زمانیکه سلیمان کرانی با راجه اودیسه جنگ نموده آن ولایت را مسخر گردانید سلطان ابراهیم را طلب نموده چند پرگنه باقطاع او مقرر ساخته بعد ازان او را بملک عدم فرستاد القصه هیمون بعزم رزم محمد خان گورپه رفت و درموضع چپه‌کنه که هیزده گروهی کالپی است جنگ کرده او را هلاک ساخت و بملازمت سلطان عدلی آمد و چون درآن اوان بندگان حضرت نصیرالدین محمد همایون بادشاه ولایت لاهور و پنجاب را متصرف شده بودند سلطان محمد هیمون را بجنگ سپاه مغول نامزد کرد خود بجانب چنار متوجه شده و تردی بیگ خان و سکندر خان ازبک و قبا خان کنک و سپاه چغتائی که حسب الحکم بندگان حضرت جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه به دهلی رفته بودند به هیمون جنگ نموده منهزم گشته و هیمون مغرور گردیده خود را براجه بکرماجیت ملقب نمود و ازانجا روان شده در ظاهر قصبه پانی پت بالشکر ظفر اثر چغتائی جنگ کرده شکست یافت و دستگیر شده کشته گشت و سلطان محمد عدلی بولایت بهار درآمده در قصبه منگیر به سلطان بهادر فرمان فرمای ملک بنگاله و تاج خان و سلیمان کرانی که از امرای شیر خان و سلیم خان بودند مقاتله و مجادله نموده بقتل رسید *

منتخب از کتاب منتخب التواریخ

تصنیف حسن بن محمد خاکی شیرازی

بتاریخ ماه شهریور هزار و سه مظفرحسین مرزا بن سلطان حسین مرزا بن بهرام مرزا صفوی از قندهار که جاگیر او بودند بدرگاه والا آمده در سلک امرای پنجهزاری انتظام یافت چهار پسر داشت بهرام مرزا صدر مرزا القاس مرزا طهماست مرزا سرکار سنبهل بجاگیر او مقرر گشت و قندهار بجاگیرشاه بیگ خان کابلی عنایت شد بتاریخ روز شنبه نهم صفر هزار و چهار شیخ فیضی که ملک الشعرا خطاب یافته بود وفات یافت بتاریخ غره شهر شعبان اربع و خمسین و تسعمائة متولد شده بود همدرین سال حکیم برادر حکیم ابوالفتح وفات یافت و درهمین سال ولایت برار که داخل ولایت دکن نظام الملک است بدست شاهزاده شاه مراد مفتوح شد و بتاریخ هیزدهم مرداد همین سال اهو شاخی بپادشاه زد خراشي در یک ازخصیها شده بست و نه روز کوفت ازار بسیار بود و شورشی در تمام هندوستان افتاد آخر بصحت مبدل شد و درهمین سال راجه علیخان حاکم خاندیس در جنگ دکن که همراه لشکر فیروزي اثر بود بقتل رسید و درسنه هزار وپنج آتشي از درون محل بادشاهی بطناب خیمه که بجهت آرایش نوروز برپا کرده بودند افتاده به بالای خیمه رسید و تمام اسباب نوروزي که در هرسال بجهت جشن نوروزي آئین مي بستند بسوخت و بست و یکم ماه فرور دین بادشاه بصوب کشمیر توجه نمود و سه ماه و بست روز در کشمیر بوده بلاهور نزول اجلال فرمود و شاهزاده دانیال را بحکومت صوبه الهآباد فرستاد بمنصب هفت هزاري سرفراز ساختند وقلیچ خان باتالیقي شاهزاده

ممتاز گردید و درین سال مرزا رستم پسر شاهزاده شاه مراد که دربیماري شش سال وسه ماه سختي کشیده بود درلاهور وفات یافت و درهفدهم ماه شهریور هزار و شش رای نرداس را با خواجه شمس الدین در امر وزارت شریک ساختند وبتاریخ بست و سویم امان ماه همین سال منوچهر بیگ با پانصد سوار قزلباش از پیش شاه عباس باتفاق میرضیاء الملک که همراه یادکار سلطان با یلچي گري رفته بود با یلچیگري آمده در لاهور باستان بوسي مشرف گشت وبتاریخ بست وششم ماه مذکور رایات جلال از لاهور بعزم تسخیر دکن متوجه اگره شد وبتاریخ بست و دویم اردي بهشت ماه سال مذکور شاهزاده شاه مراد در دکن برحمت ایزدي پیوست و بتاریخ دویم ماه تیر شاهزاده دانیال به تسخیر دکن مرخص شد و در اواخر همین سال اصفخان بدیواني کل سرفراز گشت و بتاریخ ششم ماه مهر هزار و هفت اگره را بقلیج خان سپرده رایات جلال متوجه دکن گردید وشاهزاده عالمیان سلطان سلیم را بجهت تادیب و تنبیه امرا را تا زمین دار اودی پور بطرف اجمیر رخصت فرمودند وراجه مانسنگ وشاه قلي خان محرم را در رکاب شاهزاده مرخص ساختند و همدرین سال گجرات را بجاگیر خان اعظم مرحمت نموده مرزا شمسي پسر کلان او را بجهة ضبط و ربط انجا فرستادند ومولف این اوراق را به بخشي گري انجا سرفراز ساخته از حوالي دهل پور مرخص فرمودند در سال هزار وهشت خواجه شمس الدین که دیوان کل بود بعد از توجه رایات جلال بجانب اگره بدیواني پنجاب مقرر شده بود درگذشت درین سال شاهزاده سلیم که بجهت تادیب امرا رانا تا اودی پور رفته بود بجانب الهآباد رفته نام بادشاهي برخود بنهاد خزانه بهار که سه لک روپیه بود بتصرف خود درآورده جاگیر بندهای درگاه را متصرف شد بتاریخ ششم شهریور ماه همین سال احمدنگر دکن بدست شاهزاده

دانیال و مرزا شاهرخ و خانخانان و مرزا یوسف خان و دیگر بندها مفتوح شد و بهادر پسر ابراهیم نبیرهٔ برهان نظام الملک که به بادشاهي نام داشته بودند گرفتار گردید و درحینی که رایات جلال در برهان پور نزول اجلال داشت وقلعه اسیر که بهادر پسر راجهٔ علیخان درانجا متحصن بوده محاصره شده بود خبر فتح رسید مدت محاصرهٔ احمدنگر چهار ماه و چهار روز بود درین سال جلاله باربکي که سالها فتنه انگیز بود در غزنین بدست شادمان هزاره زخمي شده بکوه رباط گریخت مرادبیگ و چندی از ملازمان شریف خان انگه بدو رسیدهٔ کارش را تمام کردند و در آخیر روز ماه همین سال بهادر حاکم اسیر بوسیله خان اعظم باستان بوسي شتافته قلعه تسلیم نموده و در قلعه گوالیار محبوس گشت درین ایام مرزا جاني حاکم تهٹه در برهان پور وفات یافت وحکومت تهٹه به پسر او مرزا غازي عنایت شد و درین سال حکیم مصري در سن هشتاد سالگي وفات یافت درین ایام منوچهر بیگ ایلچي شاه عباس مرخص شد بتاریخ یازدهم اردي بهشت هزار و نه رایات جلال از برهان پور بجانب دارالخلافة اگره نهضت نموده ولایت خاندیس را داندیس نام نهاده بشاهزاده دانیال مرحمت فرمودند و بتاریخ سي و یکم امرداد همین سال باگره نزول اجلال واقع شد وبتاریخ ششم ماه مهرسال مذکور زین خان کوکه دراگره وفات یافت هیزدهم اذر همین سال شاه قلیخان محرم دراگره وفات یافت *

منتخب از تاریخ فرشته

و چون پرم دیو راجه اجمیر و غیره لشکری عظیم گرد آورده سر راهها بر سلطان گرفته بودند سلطان صلاح در جنگ نمیدید از راه سند متوجه ملتان شد و درین راه بعضی جاها از بی علفی و در بعضی محال از بی آبی مجنت تمام بحال لشکریان راه یافت و بمشقت بسیار در سنه سبع و عشر و اربعمائة بغزنین رسید گویند وقتیکه سلطان از راه بیابان سند روانه ملتان میشد بفرمود تا راهبر پیدا کنند هندوی قبول این معنی کرد و لشکر اسلام را راهبر شده براهی برد که اصلا آب دران بادیه نبود و چون یکشبانه روز راه رفتند و از آب اثر نیافتند حالتی عجب در اردوی پدید آمده آثار قیامت ظاهر گشت چون سلطان از دلیل هند و تفحص حال نمود جواب داد که از فدائیان سومنات ترا و لشکر ترا باین بیابان آورده ام تا هلاک سازم سلطان بغضب رفته هندو را بقتل رسانید و درهمان شب از لشکرگاه بصحرا رفته و روی عجز بر زمین نهاده از حضرت ذو الجلال بتضرع و ابتهال نجات ازان بلیه طلبید چون پاسی از شب بگذشت به طرف شمال روشنائی ظاهر شد لشکر حسب فرموده ازان موضع کوچ کرده در پی آن روشنائی روان شد تا وقت صبح بکنار آب رسیدند و از برکت اخلاص بادشاه از چنان ورطهٔ مهلکی خلاص یافتند *

ایضاً منه

در جامع الحکایات مذکور است که سلطان در یکی از بتخانهای آن ولایت بتی دید که در هوا معلق استاده و بهیچ چیز قایم نه سلطان را حیرت دست داده سرّ آن از حکماء زمان استفسار نمود

گفتند تمامي سقف و جدار ان خانه از سنگ مقناطیس است . و این بت از آهن و قوت جاذبه اطراف و جوانب نسبت بدان بت سمت تساوي دارد لاجرم بت درمیانه ایستاده بیک طرف متمایل نیست چون حسب الحکم سلطان یک دیوار ویران کردند بت نگون افتاد و درین سال که از سفر سومنات برگشت القادر بالله عباسي نامه بسلطان محمود نوشته نوای فتح خراسان و هندوستان و نیمروز وخوارزم فرستاد و سلطان و فرزندان و برادران را دران نامه لقبها نهاد سلطان را کهف الدوله والاسلام و امیر مسعود را شهاب الدوله و جمال الملة و امیر محمد را جلال الدوله و جمال الملة و امیر یوسف را عضد الدوله و موید الملة و نوشت که هرکرا تو ولیعهد خود گرداني ما نیز آن کس را قبول داریم و این نامه دربلخ بسلطان رسید فقط *

ایضاً منه

ذکر وقایع سلطنت بادشاه معظم مهذب فیروز شاه بن سالار رجب

گویند ملک فیروز باریک که برادر زادهٔ سلطان غیاث الدین تغلقشاه بود و سلطان محمد درباب او نظر استخلاف و ولیعهدی داشت چون در بیماري و تداوي و معالجه پادشاه شرط حق‌گذاري و خدمت بجای آورد درانحال عنایت و شفقت پادشاه دربارهٔ او یکی درهزار شده هنگام رحلت وصیت کرد که ولیعهد او باشد و این بیت بخواند *

بیت

تو سر سبز باشي بشاهنشهي که من کرده ام سرزبالین تهي

بعد از وفات سلطان محمد تغلقشاه برهم خوردگي بیرون از حساب در لشکر افتاده ملک فیروز باریک و بعضی از اعیان

آرد و همت بر ضبط خلایق گماشته متکفل مهمات شدند و بنابر صلاح وقت اول التون بهادر و امرای که از پیش امیر قزغن بمدد آمده بودند باندازه و مرتبه هریک را خلعت و انعام داده اجازت مراجعت دادند و گفتند چون وقت مناسب نیست مبادا میان شما و لشکر هندوستان غبار نزاع مرتفع گشته بفساد منجر شود اولی آنکه قبل از کوچ کردن ما شما از اردو برآمده روانه شوید التون بهادر را این سخن موافق عقل افتاده در ساعت خیمه و خرگاه برکند و کوچ کرده بفاصله پنجکروه فرود آمد و امیر نوروز کرکین داماد ترمشرین خان مغل که در عهد سلطان محمد تغلق شاه بهند آمده در سلک امرای کبار انتظام یافته بود کفران نعمت ورزیده و نیز با مردم خود کوچ کرد و پیش التون بهادر رفته فرود آمد و گفت پادشاه هندوستان فوت شده و لشکر بی سرو سامان است و هنوز کسی برتخت ننشسته و مردم دلهای پریشان دارند پس راه سپاهگری آن است که فردا که لشکر کوچ کند خود را بخزانه زنیم و از نقود و جواهر آنچه توانیم بدست آورده بولایت خود شتابیم پس بموجب قرار داد روز دوم از فوت پادشاه که لشکر مانند کار و انیان بیسرو سامان میرفت برارد و زده چند صندوق خزانه که بر شترها بار بود متصرف گشتند و دختر و پسر بسیار اسیر گرفته در لوازم غارت تقصیر نکردند و امرای سلطان محمد بهزار ترس و بیم ارد و را بسیوستان المعروف بسیهوان رسانیده نزول نمودند و آن شب تا صباح بشرایط هوشیاری پرداخته خواب و آرام برخود حرام ساختند اما روز دیگر مخدوم زادهٔ عباسی و شیخ الشیوخ نصیرالدین محمود اودهی الملقب بچراغ دهلی و دیگر علما و مشایخ و امرای کبار و ارباب دخل همگی اتفاق نموده بمنزل ملک فیروز باریک رفته گفتند چون پادشاه مرحوم ولیعهدی بتو تفویض کرده و دیگری شایسته این امر

خطیر عظیم الشان نیست مناسب آنکه پیش ازین مهمات سلطنت را معطل نداري و برتخت سلطنت جلوس نماي ملک فیروز باریک اظهار سفر حجاج و زیارت حرمین شریفین نموده هرچند عذر آورد سود نکرد آخر ناچار شده در بیست وسیوم ماه محرم سال مذکور بعد از آنکه پنجاه و چند مرحله از عمر شریفش طی شده بود برتخت جهانداري جلوس فرمود *

نظم

مخالف شکن شاه فیروز بخت بفیروز فالي بر آمد به تخت
ز فیروزي دولت کامگار نشاط نو انگیخت در روزگار

روز اول جلوس چندین هزار نفس که دربند مفسدان تهته و مغل افتاده بودند باز خرید و روز سویم از جلوس بترتیب و توزکي سوار شده که از هرطرفی که سوار مغل و مفسدان تهته جهت دست اندازي درمی آمدند دستگیر میشدند یا کشته می گشتند چنانچه چندین کس از سرداران مغل گرفتار شده بسزا رسیدند *

نظم

همای چتر همایون او چو بال کشاد
ازین سپس نکند چغد دعوي بازی
چنان بساخت جهان را هوای معدلتش
که از طبیعت اضداد رفت ناسازي

امیر نو روز کرکین و التون بهادر دیگر صلاح در توقف ندیده از روی استعجال بملک خود شتافتند و مردم تهته که بتحریک طغي در فتنه و فساد تقصیر نمیکردند ایشان هم حد خود دانسته پا از اندازه بیرون ننهادند و برخلایق جلوس سلطان فیروز شاه مبارک آمده منت جانی و مالی بر ایشان ثابت گشت و بعد ازان بکوچ متواتر از سیوستان بقلعه بهکر آمد *

ایضاً منه

در سنه اربع و خمسین و سبعمائة در دامن کوه کلا نور شکار کرده هنگام مراجعت عمارات عالیه بر لب آب سرستي بنا فرمود و در شوال همین سال خان جهان را اختیار تمام داده در شهر گذاشت وخود با لشکر گران عزیمت لکهنوتي نموده تا دفع شر حاجي الیاس که خود را شمس الدین شاه نامیده تا حد بنارس متصرف شده بود نماید وقتی که نزدیک گورکهپور رسید اودیسنگ مقدم آنجا بخدمت آمده پیش کشهای لایق باد و زنجیر فیل گذرانیده مورد مراحم سلطاني شد و رای گورکهپور هم خراج چند ساله گذارده هر دو درملازمت سلطان روان شدند و چون بحدود پندوه که محل قرار حاکم بنگاله بود رسید الیاس حاجي آن را گذاشته باکداله که موضعیست در غایت استحکام یک طرف آب و دیگر طرف جنگل دارد رفته پناه برد پادشاه مردم پندوه را مضرت نرسانیده ازانجا بگذشت و در هفتم ماه ربیع الاول باکداله رسیده در همان روز جنگ عظیم شد و بیست و نهم شهریور لشکر سلطان از شهر جدا شده به کنار آب گنگ فرود آمده در پنجم ربیع الاخر از ممر عفونت اردو میخواست که تغیر منزل کند پس بنفس نفیس سوار شده تفحص جای مناسب میکرد حاجي الیاس المخاطب به شمس الدین شاه بخیال اینکه سلطان بعزم معاودت سوار شده است بنابرین بقصد جنگ از حصار برامده صف آراست و حرکة المذبوحي نموده باز بقلعه گریخت و چهل و چهار زنجیر فیل و چتر و علم و اسباب شاهي و حشم او بدست سلطان آمد و پیاده بسیار کشته شده جماعتی کثیر اسیر گشتند و سلطان روز دوم درانجا مقام کرده فرمان داد که اسیران بلاد لکهنوتي را بگذارند و چون برشکال رسیده بود و باریدگي در ولایت بنگاله بنوعی میشود که در آن فصل تردد بغایت متعذر میگردد پادشاه گفت چون فتح

کردیم و اسباب سلطنتش گرفتیم سال دیگر بدفع او خواهم آمد
پس صلح گونه درمیان آورده و اسیران بلاد لکهنوتي را رها کرده علم
مراجعت بصوب دهلي برافراشت و در سنه خمس و خمسین
و سبعمائة نزدیک دهلي شهر فیروزاباد در کنار نهر جون بنیاد نهاد
و در دوازدهم ماه شعبان سنه ست و خمسین و سبعمائة جانب
دیپالپور به شکار رفت و جوی بزرگی از آب ستلج کنده تا جهجهر
که چهل و هشت کروه است برد و درسنه سبع و خمسین و سبعمائة
از کوه منذوي و سرمور از نهر جون جوی جدا کرده و هفت نهر
دیگر باوجمع ساخته بهانسي رسانید و ازانجا به ابسین برده حصاری
مستحکم بنا کرده بحصار فیروزه موسوم گردانید و در زیر آن حصار
نزدیک کوشک تالابي کافته از آب نهر پر کرد و جوی دیگر از آب
کهکر کشید و از حصار سرستی گذرانیده بنهر سرکهتره رسانید
و شهری درانجا بنا نهاده فیروزآباد نام کرد و جوی دیگر از جون
کشیده در تالاب آن شهر انداخت و در ماه ذیحجه سنه مذکوره
خلعت و منشور خلیفه عباسي مصرالحاکم بامر الله ابوالفتح
ابو بکر بن ابي ربیع سلیمان متضمن تفویض ممالک هندوستان
و سفارش بادشاهان دکن آمد و هم درین ماه رسولان حاجي الیاس
المخاطب بشمس الدین شاه از لکهنوتي و بنگاله رسیده هدایا
و تحف و نفایس بسیار بدرگاه آوردند و التماس صلح نمودند
بادشاه نیز بان معني راضي شده ایلچیان را بعزت و حرمت
رخصت فرمود وازان تاریخ بنگاله ودکن از تصرف سلاطین دهلي
بیرون رفته به پیشکش اکتفا نمودند و تا ده گروهی سمانه داخل
سرهند گردانیده حوالهٔ ملک ضیاء الملک وشمس الدین ابو رجا
نمود و آنجا حصاری برآورده فیروزپور نام نهاد و ازانجا بطرف
نگرکوت توجه فرموده وقتیکه بدامن کوه رسید برف آوردند پادشاه
فرمود که وقتی خداوند من سلطان محمد تغلقشاه مرحوم بدانجا

رسید و شربت برف جهة او آوردند چون من حاضر نبودم خود میل نکرد و حکم کرد که چند فیل و شتر بار نبات که همراه بود شربت برف ساخته بیاد سلطان محمد تغلقشاه بتمام لشکر تقسیم کردند راجه نگرکوت بعد از محاربه و مجادله با اتباع بخدمت آمده غاشیه خدمت بردوش گرفته پادشاه او را نوازش فرمود و نگرکوت را بنام سلطان محمد تغلقشاه مرحوم به محمد آباد موسوم گردانید و دریںوقت بعرض بادشاه رسانیدند که سکندر ذوالقرنین وقتی که باینجا آمده بود برهمنان صورت نوشابه را ساخته درخانه خود داشته اند وآن حالا معبود مردم این دیاراست و یکهزار و سیصد کتاب از براهمه درین بتخانه است که بجوالا مکهي اشتهار دارد پادشاه علمای آن طایفه را طلب کرده بعضی ازان کتب را ترجمه فرمود ازانجمله اعزالدین خالد خانی که از شعرای آن عصر بود کتابی در حکمت طبعي و شگون و تفألات در سلک نظم کشیده دلایل فیروزشاهي نام کرده است و الحق آن کتابیست متضمن اقسام حکمت علمي و عملي و در بعضی کتب مسطور است که سلطان فیروز شاه باریک بتهای نگرکوت را بشکست و با گوشت ماده گاو در توبره کرده بگردن بهامنه بست و درارد و بگردانید و صورت نوشابه را بایک لک تنکه بمدینه حضرت رسول الله صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم فرستاده تا آنصورت را در مشارع زایران زیر زمین کردند و زر را بمجاورین و مستحقین قسمت نمودند و بادشاه بعد از فتح نگرکوت عزیمت ولایت سند کرده متوجهه تهته شد و جام مالي بن جام غفره که همیشه مطیع پادشاه دهلي بود باغي شده قلعه را مضبوط کرد و پادشاه چند گاه محاصره فرموده چون غله و علف قیمت جواهر پیدا کرد و موسم برسات نزدیک شد بجانب گجرات رفت و برشکال را در انجا گذرانید و ظفر خان را آیالت گجرات داده بکوچ متواتر به تهته آمد جام

مذکور درین کرت امان خواسته ملازمت نمود پادشاه او را باتمامی مقدمان تهته بدهلی برد و بعد از مدتی در مقام عنایت شده باز به تهته فرستاد و در سنه اربع و سبعین و سبعمائة ملک مقبول خان جهان وفات یافت و جوناشه پسر بزرگ او بدان خطاب بلند آوازه گشت و در سنه خمس و سبعین و سبعمائة ظفرخان در گجرات فوت شد پسر بزرگ او دریا خان خطاب ظفرخانی یافت و جانشین پدر شد و در دوازدهم صفر سنه ست و سبعین و سبعمائة فلک بیمهری و عناد خود ظاهر ساخته سلطان ملک فیروز باریک را بمرگ فرزند دلبندش فتح خان که شهزاده بیمثال بود قرین حزن و اندوه ساخته پشت طاقتش را از بار غم دوتا گردانید و چون علاجی بجز صبر در دست نبود در حظیره خود دفن کرده مراسم تعزیت بجای آورد و بسبب زیادتی ملال سایه التفات از امور مملکت باز گرفته بغایت محزون و مغموم میبود امرا و اعیان درگاه سر بر زمین نهاده معروض داشتند که جز رضا بقضا درینواقعه علاجی نیست و بیش ازین بی التفاتی بامور پادشاهی مناسب نمی بینیم و آن پادشاه دانا التماس مخلصان دولتخواه را قبول کرده باحوال مملکت پرداخت و برای رفع کلفت بنشاط شکار رغبت نمود و در حوالی دهلی نو قریب دو سه فرسنگ دو طرف دیوارها کشیده درختان سایه دار نشانید و آن را شکارگاه گردانید و تا این زمان اثر ان باقی است *

ایضاً منه

قریب بیست و سه هزار کس گرفتار حلقه عبودیت شدند و چون گهرکو مانند سیماب در شگاف و شعاب آن کوهستان ناپدید شده بود هیچکس از نشان حیا او میتا نداد و برسات نزدیک شد را یات ظفرآیات بجنبش در آمده بمرکز اصلی معاودت نمود و ملک داؤد افغان را بغایت بزرگ ساخته در سنبل نصب فرمود

وحکم کرد که هرسال از روی قهر و غضب بولایت کتهر درآمده دقیقه از خرابي فرو نگذارد و خود نیز تا سنه سبع و ثمانین و سعبمائة هرسال از دهلي جانب سنبل بشکار رفته انچه ملک داؤد خان افغان نکرده بود بوقوع می آورد چنانکه درآن سنوات یکجریب زمین مزروع نشد و متنفسی شبی در خانه خود نغنود و عوض آن سه سید چندین هزارهندو بقتل رسیدند و در سال مذکور حصاری بغایت مستحکم در موضع بسولي که هفت کروهی بداون است ساخته آن را فیروز پور نام کرد اما خلق ستمدیده وظریف آن را آخرین پور میگفتند و در آخر انچنان شد که برزبان مردم جاري شده بود که بادشاه دیگر در قلعه ساختن و شهر و قصبه بنا نهادن توفیق نیافت و ان حصار بآخرین پور مشهور گشت و در همین سال ضعف پیري بر بادشاه غالب شده خانجهان که وزارت یافته بود بی نهایت قوي شد که هرچه او میگفت بادشاه بی فکر و تامل از قوه بفعل می آورد *

منتخب از کتاب مآثر رحیمي

سال سي و هشتم الهی از جلوس شاهنشاهي بتاریخ پانزدهم جمادی الثاني سنه احدی و الف تحویل نیر اعظم از حوت بحمل شده بنیاد نوروز سلطاني و اغاز سال سي و هشتم الهی شد و بدستور هر ساله آئین بندي شد و جشنها ترتیب یافت نهم فروردین ماه الهی سنه هزار و یک موافق بست وچهارم جمادی الثاني سنه مذکور خان خانان وجاني بیگ حاکم تهته آمده بشرف عتبه بوسي مشرف شدند و مورد عنایات خسروانه گردیدند و شاه بیگ خان کابلي که الحال بخان دوران مخاطب است و فریدون خان برلاس و بختیار بیگ و دیگر امرا که کومکی گجرات بودند و همراه آمده بودند فرا خور حال خود بزیادتی علوفه و جاگیر و منصب سرفراز شدند در اینوقت که قلعه جوناگده و ولایت سورته بتصرف اولیای دولت درآمد سلطان مظفر گجراتي که درآن ولایت می بود فرار نموده بجانب کنکار که زمین دار ولایت کچه است رفته در پناه او مي بود خان اعظم بر سر کنکار رفته اکثر ولایت او را خراب ساخت و او از راه دولت خواهی درآمده درمقام آنشد که مظفر گجراتی دستگیر دولتخواهان شود بنابرین قرارداد که میرزا عبد الله پسر خان اعظم را بجاي که مظفر میباشد سرکرده می برد که او را غافل دستگیر سازد میرزا عبد الله را برده سلطان مظفر را دستگیر نمود و در اثنای راه مظفر به بهانه اراقت بگوشه نشسته باسترهٔ که باخود داشت گلوی خودرا بریده ناچار سرش را بریده پیش خان اعظم آوردند و خان اعظم سر او را بدرگاه سلاطین پناه فرستاد همدرین ایام یکصد وبست زنجیر فیل که در جنگ

آدیسه بدست راجه مانسنگه افتاده بودند بدرگاه جهان پناه ارسالداشته بود بنظر اشرف گذشت چون مدت ده سال بود که خان اعظم از ملازمت جدا افتاده بود فرمان بطلب او رفت که چون خدمات بتقدیم رسانیده وقت آنست که بشرف ملازمت دریافته مورد مراحم شاهنشاهي شود اما چون همه وقت زیارت حرمین الشریفین درخاطر داشت درین ایام از جانب خلیفة الهی اهل نفاق بعضی سخنان باو رسانیده بودند و او را ازراه برده با فرزندان و عیال و خانه کوچ و خزانه خودرا درکشتي انداخته. درغرة رجب سال مذکور عزیمت سفر حجاز نمود چون این خبر بعرض رسید حضرت شاهنشاهي حکومت گجرات را بشاهزاده مراد تفویض نمود فرمان فرستادند که از مالوه بگجرات رود ومحمد صادق خان که از امرای کبار بود بوکالت شاهزاده رخصت شد سرکار سورت وبروچ وبرودة ازتغیر قلیچ خان بجاگیر او مقرر گشت و درتاریخ بست ویکم امرداد ماه سال سي و هشت الهی موافق چهاردهم ذي‌قعده احدی والف زین خان کوکه واصف خان که بجهة تادیب وتنبیه افاغنه سواد وباجور رفته بودند و استیصال جلاله و مدد علی هم منظور شان بود اکثر انهارا نابود ساخته اهل و عیال جلاله و مدد علی برادر اورا باخویشان اوقریب بچهارصدکس دستگیر نموده بدرگاه جهان پناه آوردند وبتاریخ چهارم شهریور ماه الهی سنه مذکور بموافق بست و نهم ذي قدة حکومت مالوة را بمیرزا شاهرخ لطف نموده شاه باز خان کنبورا که سه سال در قید بود خلاص کرده بجهة سرانجام مهمات مالوه و معاملات میرزا شاهرخ لطف فرمودند وبتاریخ دوازدهم شهریور ماه الهی سنه ۴۸ موافق هشتم محرم سنه اثنی والف میرزا رستم خان بن سلطان حسین میرزا بن بهرام میرزا بن شاه اسمعیل صفوی والی ایران که حکومت زمینداور وان نواحی داشت التجا بدرگاه جهان

پناه آورده با برادران و فرزندان و عیال بملازمت رسید و چون بکنار آب چناب رسید بندگان حضرت اول سرا پرده و بارگاه و قالین ها و دیگر اسباب بدست قرابیگ ترکمان باستقبال فرستادند و از پی آن کمر خنجر مرصع مصحوب حکیم عین الملک روانه داشتند و چون بچهار کروهی لاهور رسید زین خان و خان خانان را باستقبال او فرستاده او را بشرف ملازمت مشرف ساختند و چون بملازمت رسید بانواع الطاف و اعطاف بادشاهانه سرفراز شد و مبلغ یک کرور تنکه مرادی انعام نمودند و درسلک امرای پنجهزاری درآوردند و ملتان را بجاگیر میرزا عنایت کردند و درهمین ایام ملک الشعرا شیخ فیضی که برسالت نزد راجه علی خان و برهان الملک دکنی رفته بود آمده مورد الطاف و مراحم بادشاهی شد و میر محمد امین مشهدی و میر منیر و خواجه امین الدین که هریک بیکی از حکام دکن رفته بودند نیز آمده ملازمت نمودند و چون برهان الملک پرورش یافته و نوازش کردهٔ این استانه بود چنانچه در محل خود ذکر رفت پیش کش لایق نفرستاده و درسلوک و روش اخلاص نیز کوتاهی نموده بود و زیاده از پانزده پارچه قماش دکن و اندک جواهری نفرستاده بود موجب بهم برآمدگی خاطر اشرف شد و خلیفه الهی همت برتسخیر دکن گماشت و شاهزاده دانیال را بتاریخ بست و پنجم مهر ماه الهی موافق بست و یکم محرم این سال جهت تسخیر انولایت تعین نمودند و خان خانان و رای سنگه و رای سال و حکیم عین الملک و امرای مالوه جاگیرداران صوبهٔ اجمیر و دهلی نیز بملازمت شاهزاده رخصت شدند و بالجمله هفتاد هزار سوار باین خدمت امر شد و خود بدولت بعزیمت شکار بیرون آمده تا کنار آب دریای سلطان پور که سی کروهی لاهور است رسیدند و خان خانان را که در ملازمت

شاهزاده دانیال بسرهند رسیده بود بجهة کنکاش بحضور طلبیده و خان خانان در نواحي شیخ پور بملازمت رسیده مجددا درباب تسخیر دکن سخن گذشت که بی انکه شاهزاده تصدیع کشد فتح دکن میسر است خان خانان تعهد فتح دکن نمود حکم شد که لشکری که بهمراهي شاهزاده دانیال مقرر شده بود با خان‌خانان همراه باشد و شاهزاده دانیال بملازمت آمد کس بطلب شاهزاده رفت شاهزاده در دو روز آمده بسعادت خدمت رسید و خان‌خانان بانواع مراحم بادشاهانه سرفراز گشته متوجه فتح دکن شد و حضرت خلیفه الهي شکار کنان مراجعت نموده دارالخلافه لاهور را مستقر رایات جاه و جلال ساختند و خان خانان در رفتن مسارعت نموده بدارالخلافه اگره رفت و چون ایام برسات نزدیک شده بود و نیز حکم بود که از خزاین آگره انچه تواند برداشت برداشته بسپاهیان داده فتح دکن نماید دران سال در اگره برشکال را گذرانیده بقدر احتیاج از خزاین آنجا برداشته بمالوه که بجاگیر میرزا شاه رخ مقرر بود آمده در اجین بملاقات میرزا رسید و از مالوه بخاندیس درآمده براجه علي‌خان را بصلح درسلک دولت خواهان در آورده خاندیس را ضمیمه ممالک محروسه ساخت و سکه و خطبه انملک که دست تسخیر مملکت کشایان از تسخیر قلعه اسیر عاجز بوده بنام نامی خلیفه الهي کرد و راجه علیخان را درسلک امرای پنجهزاري آورده خاندیس را بجاگیر راجه علي خان تجویز نمود و عرایض با پیش کش راجه علیخان بدرگاه فرستاده التماس نمود که خاندیس بجاگیر راجه علي خان باشد و راجه علي‌خان درسلک دولت خواهان گردد و در معامله دکن همراهي نماید فرمان عنایت نشان درین باب صادر گشت و خانخانان بعنایت پادشاهانه سرفراز و امیدوار شد و بعد از تسخیر خاندیس متوجه دکن شده دراول دفعه قلعه احمد نگر را محاصره نموده

چاند بي‌بي که دران زمان ملکه انملک بود مصالحه نموده برار را داخل ممالک محروسه بادشاهی نمود و در دفعه ثاني که سهیل حبشي از جانب عادل شاه سرلشکر شده با عساکر نظام الملکی و عادل‌خاني وقطب‌الملکی وملک بریدي بشوکت و عظمت هرچه تمامتر بجنگ آمد واین سپه سالار باندک مایه مردمی در برابر در آمده دران مصاف کار رستم و اسفندیار نموده سهیل را بشکست و قلعه احمد نگر را بعد از شکست سهیل محاصره نموده مفتوح ساخت وکل ولایت دکن را که در سلسله نظام شاهیه بود داخل ممالک محروسه بادشاهي نمود وفتوحات دکن و خاندیش و برار چون بتفصیل در احوال خیر مال مذکور خانان مذکور شده دست ازان باز میدارد و رجوع بانجامي نماید و اگر در ذکر فتوحات دکن سپه سالار شروع نماید طول تمام‌خواهد داشت القصه خلیفه الهي را مدت پنجاه و دو سال سلطنت کل ولایت هندوستان از اقصی بلاد بنگاله تا انتهای سنده و قندهار و زمینداور و دریای شور گردن کشان و راجهای و رایان و زمیی داران هندوستان را که سلاطین گجرات و سنده و دکن و کشمیر و بنگاله و مالوه و دیگر ولایات بوده باشد مطیع امر و فرمان خود نموده بعضی را بصلح و برخی را بجنگ و جدال از ملک بر آورد و راقم مدت سي و هشت سال ایام سلطنت ایشانرا که نظام الدین احمد بخشي مولف طبقات اکبري بقید تحریر وتقریر در آورده بود از سنه ثلث وستین و تسعمائة هجري لغایت سنه اثنی والف موافق آن برقم در آورد و مدت چهارده سال را که مشار الیه را توفیق تحریر آن نشده بود نسخه بنظر نرسید وواقعه سرکار آنحضرت را نیز بدست دراوردن این فقیر را میسر نبود توفیق تحریر آن ایام بتفصیل نیافت و رجوع بدیگر نسخ که در حالات و وقایع سرکار ایشان نوشته اند نمود بادشاهی بود جهاندار و جهان ستان و خسروی بود عدالت

شعار عالي مقدار و جميع طوايف انام از اطراف و اكناف عالم روبدرگاه جهان پناهش اورده از احسان عام او بهره يافتند وجميع مذاهب و ملل را در سايه مرحمت او جاى بود و صلح كل نموده خلق الله را بنظر مرحمت يكسان ميديد و اسامي سلاطين و امرا و وزر او شعراء و علماء كه درزمان عافيت نشان انحضرت درملازمت اقدس بسر مى بردند از طبقات اكبري و اكبر نامه ظاهر ميگردد و حالات بزرگي و اختراعات طبع وقّاد و ذهن نقّاد آنحضرت را رجوع بان دونسخه جامع مى نمايد و درمدت سلطنت آنحضرت كه پنجاه و دو سال بوده باشد از هيچ يك از سرحد نشينان و بادشاهان هندوستان آزار و آسيب بممالک محروسه آنحضرت نرسيد و باوجود بادشاهان افغان كه در خيرگي و زياده سري در روزگار مشهوراند قدرت آن نداشتند كه از جاى خود حركت توانند نمود تا انكه همگي بشمشير فتح آثار آن حضرت مطيع ومنقاد شدند وهركه سر از اطاعت و فرمان برداري پيچيد بى سر وبى جان شد و تا انكه بتاريخ شهر جمادى الاول سنه اربع وعشر و الف در دارالخلافه آگره متقاضي اجل بساط عمرش در نوشت و مدت او پنجاه و دو سال ويكى از مستعدان تاريخ اين واقعه را كلمه فوت اكبرشه يافته *

منتخب از کتاب انفع الاخبار

سال چهل و نهم و پنجاهم و پنجاه و یکم موافق سنه ۱۲ ۱۰ و سنه ۱۳ ۱۰ و سنه ۱۴ ۱۰ این وقایع روی داد که رقم نموده میشود در سنه ۱۲ ۱۰ شاهزاده سلطان سلیم از اعمال نادم و پشیمان گشته غزا پرسي مریم مکاني را وسیله ساخته از روی اخلاص تمام عازم خدمت پدر عالیمقام خود شد و همانروز که ملازمت بوقوع آمد در غلسخانه مقید گشت و بعد از دوازده روز انواع شفقت و مهرباني نسبت بشاهزاده عالیقدر مبذول داشته بمنزل مرخص فرمودند و درین سال خبر فوت سلطان دانیال از دکن رسید تاریخ فوت اورا شه دانیال عمر بسلطان سلیم داد یافته اند و در سنه ۱۳ ۱۰ مرضي بر ذات خجسته صفات حضرت ظلسبحاني عارض گشته در تاریخ روز چهارشنبه دوازدهم شهر جمادی الثاني سنه ۱۴ ۱۰ در آگره تخت و تاج خسروي را وداع نموده در سکندره مدفون گشت انکه پاینده و باقیست خدا خواهد بود تاریخ وفات این پادشاه عالیجاه را فوت اکبرشه یافته اند این پادشاه با کمال خصال در پنمدت پادشاهي هیچ جا شکست نیافت وافواج او همیشه مظفر و منصور بودند و جمیع مخالفانرا بعضی را بجنگ و بعضی را بصلح با خود موافق ساخته بود و ملکي باین طول و عرض را چنانچه شاید و باید بقید ضبط درآورده بود و جمیع خلق الله و طوایف انام از اطراف و اکناف روی بدرگاه او داشتند و با طبقات خلایق صلح کل کرده مردم از جمیع ملل در سایه عنایت او بودند پوشیده نماند که این قدر که از احوال آن پادشاه آسمان جاه عالیمقام ارقام یافته عشر عشیري هم شاید که نباشد

تفصیل احوال خیر مال آنحضرت حواله باکبر نامه و تاریخ نظامي است لله الحمد والمنة که اگر خلایق از سایه مرحمت آنحضرت محروم گشتند خلف سلف ارشد ارجمند کامگار عالیمقدار ایشان جانشین است امید که این سلطنت بارفعت تا قیام قیامت باقي و پاینده باد بالنبي واله الامجاد *

ایضاً منه

ذکر بعضی سوانح و احوال بطریق اجمال * در شهور سنه ۱۰۳۶ این واقع روی داد که رقم زده کلک بیان میگردد چون مهابتخان حسب الحکم بادشاه زمان از دکن معاودت کرده بدرگاه معلی رسید دران اوان رایات عالیات عازم سیر کشمیر بودند در اثنای راه میانه مهابتخان و آصفخان بن اعتمادالدوله که برادر مهد علیا نور جهان بیگم است نزاع بهمرسیده مقدمه بانجا کشید که از طرفین افواج آراسته باهم جنگ کردند و فتح از جانب مهابتخان شده آصفخان بوادي فرار شتافت و در قلعه اتک بنارس متحصن گردید و مردم مهابتخان او را محاصره کرده بعد از چند روز دستگیر کرده نزد مهابتخان بردند و مهابتخان او را مقید ساخت و بعد ازین مقدمه مهابتخان در دربار رایت استقلال بر افراخت و بنوعی برین دولت خانه استیلا یافت که هیچ کس را قدرت این نبود که بی حکم و رضای او بخدمت مکان حضرت تواند رفت بلکه اطعمه واشربه بي رضای او بحضرت نمیرسید و طایفه راجپوتیه که نوکر و مطیع مهابتخان بودند روز و شب در دور بندگان حضرت بودند و هیچ احدی یا رای گفت و شنید نداشت چون قریب شش ماه باین عنوان گذشت بحسن تدبیر عاقله دوران مهدعلیا نور جهان بیگم جماعه مغولان باهم متفق گشته بر سر مهابتخان رفته تا قریب سه هزار کس از راجپوتان او بقتل آورده آصفخان را از بند خلاص کردند و مهابتخان انهزام یافته راه فرار پیش

گرفت و بندگان حضرت گردون منزلت خان خانان را با لشکر فراوان تعین نمودند که تعاقب مهابتخان نموده او را نابود سازند وبعد از روانه شدن در اثنای راه خان خانان ودیعت حیات سپرد تا حال که او اخر سنه مذکور است مهابت خان با معدودي چند سرگردان است و سلطان خرم هم تا حال بهمان عنوان که ذکر یافته در حدود ولایت دکن هست تا بعد ازین چه روی دهد واز پس پرده غیب چه بازي رخ نماید و درین سال عارضه برذات ملکي صفات شاه شاهان شاهزاده پرویز عارض شده در بلده برهانپور بریاض خلد برین خرامید مولانا صمدي بواناني تاریخ فوت این شاهزادهٔ عالیقدر را شاه شاهان بشد از جهان یافته و در رشته نظم کشیده *

قطعه

شهنشاه پرویز خسرو منش شه کج کلاهان بشد از جهان
بلند اختری مهروش کوکبی زانجم سپاهان بشد از جهان
مه تاجداران بعالم نماند به باج خواهان بشد از جهان
پي سال فوتش چگویم مپرس بگوشاه شاهان بشد از جهان

درین سال نظام الملک در ولایت دکن شورشی بهمرسانیده و آخر بسعي خانجهان اطفای نایرهٔ او شد چنانچه شرح آن از خاتمه کتاب مفهوم خواهد شد الحال که او آخر سنه ۱۰۳۶ است خلایق این دیار از غني و فقیر و کبیر و صغیر مرفه الحال و فارغ البال هم آغوش امن و امان از تند باد حوادث ایمن غنوده بدعای دولت ابد مقرون بندگان حضرت خلافت پناه ظل الله قیام دارند امید که این سلطنت ابدی علی الاتصال مخلد باد *

خاتمه در بیان احوال خیرمال سپهر مکرمت و احسان سپه دارخان سلمه الله تعالی و ابقاه که غرض ازین تمهید همین بود که ذکر خیر ونام نیک آن خلاصه ابراربر صفحهٔ روزگار یادگار بماند پوشیده

نماند که مولد شریف آن عالي جناب خطه پاک تبریز است وآبا واجداد آن عالي جاه درسلك اکابر و اشراف آنولایت منتظم بوده اند و اسم سامي آن والا جناب میرزا صالح است در شهور سنه ۱۰۰۰ برفاقت جنت مکاني خواجه بیگ میرزا بن معصوم بیگ صفوي که محتاج بتعریف نیست و زبان بیان از وصف آنعالیجاه قاصر است از ایران عازم هندوستان شده اند و بي نهایت اتحاد و یگانگي و پدر فرزندي بمرتبه استحکام داشت که مزیدی بران متصور نباشد بعد ازان که بهندوستان امدند و بملازمت بندگان حضرت عرش استاني معزز و مکرم گشتند بمناصب مناسب سر فرازي یافته نامزد صوبه گجرات شدند و در گجرات میرزا محمد صالح در واقعه مشاهده نمودند که علم سفیدي در پیش ایشان منصوب است و ان علم نهایت ارتفاع و سطبري بهمرسانیده باسمان عروج نمود و خیلی بالا رفت و یکبار بجانب یمین و باری دیگر بطرف یسار رفت و باری دیگر روی بروی ایشان قدری راه رفت و باز گشته نزدیک ایشان آمده شروع درخم شدن کرد دران حین ایشان آن علم را بدست گرفته راست کردند و از خواب درآمدند ازان تاریخ که این خواب مبارک را دیدند دولت و اقبال دو اسپه متوجه ایشان است و روز بروز علامات و آثار آن بظهور آمده و مي آید تا باین درجه عالیه رسیده از نسبت ارتفاع ان علم و تعبیر آن خواب منتظر و امیدوار دیگر مراتب ارجمند باید بود و همیشه زبان حال مضمون این مقال را بگوش ارباب هوش میرساند *

دولت از دونیت رفیع تر است — هر زمانیت دولتی دیگر است
باش تا صبح صبح دولت تو — کین اثرها هنوز از سحر است
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